RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE AND PROVISION IN BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY AND THE SURROUNDING RURAL AREAS DURING THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is an investigation of religious attendance and provision in the mid-nineteenth century for the region of Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural areas. Two distinct methodologies have been employed to establish general regional patterns of religious attendance and provision and, subsequently, to assess trends of religious attendance and provision in a number of settlements within the region over a longer period of time.

Firstly, the returns of the 1851 Religious Census for the whole region have been analysed in terms of settlement type and denominational distribution. This facilitated a comparison between the identified regional patterns of attendance and provision with the established national patterns. Secondly, a number of contiguous settlements within the region have been chosen in order to carry out three case studies of the period between approximately 1840 and 1860. This used alternative local sources of evidence to discover whether the patterns of religious attendance and provision identified in the previous analysis were uniform throughout the region, and to locate the findings of the 1851 Religious Census within a wider period.

Therefore, in chapter one, there is a survey of existing national and regional analyses of religious provision and attendance during the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the various interpretations of the findings of the 1851 Religious Census have been assessed. Finally, a Typology to identify the settlements within the region has been constructed.

In chapter two, the returns of the eighty-seven settlements located within the nine Registration Districts which formed the region under examination have been examined, firstly, to obtain overall Indexes of Attendance (IAs) and Indexes of Accommodation (IAccs) and, subsequently, similar IAs and IAccs for each denomination. The level of free accommodation and the incidence of service in the region were similarly assessed. This regional analysis has been undertaken with reference to denominational distribution and settlement type.

In the case studies of chapter three, local sources of evidence of religious attendance and provision have been located to provide a dynamic analysis over time. This evidence, such as Methodist membership records and Visitation records, has not been as complete or as extensive as the returns of the 1851 Religious Census. Nevertheless, they have offered an opportunity to engage

in an assessment of the level of attendance and provision over time, with specific interest in the typicality of the 1851 results throughout the mid-nineteenth century.

In chapter four, an evaluation of the methodological issues has been undertaken. In addition, the historical conclusions from both methodological approaches have been contextualised within the wider debate of the religious practice of the working class in the mid-nineteenth century, and some indication of further investigation has been made.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction.

> "Pews were allocated to be sold in subscription by the Act and they now have the letting for their own benefit! Consequently parties unable to afford a pew or sitting are debarred from worship at the Parish Church!! Population 18,000 Church accommodation 1600 free sittings 300!!!"[1]

These were the comments of the vicar of Dudley in the returns of 1851 Religious Census for the parish church, St. Thomas's. Despite the rebuilding of the church just over thirty years previously with added provision for the poor, he still complained that too little religious provision, especially free accommodation, had resulted in the exclusion of a vast majority of his rapidly expanding industrial parish from regular attendance at Sunday service. This problem of encouraging growth in the religious practice of the industrial working class, specifically in terms of regular attendance at a place of worship, was one which continually troubled both the State and Anglican authorities during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The main aim of the 1851 Religious Census was not to assess generally the extent of religious practice throughout England and Wales. The intention was to measure the success of the strategies of, primarily, the Church of England in gaining a significant presence in the newly created industrial districts by determining the level of religious attendance. In short, the purpose of the Census was to count the

numbers of worshippers attending each Sunday service in order to ascertain whether sufficient religious accommodation was available.

Consequently, any analysis of religious practice during the mid-nineteenth century using the 1851 Religious Census as its main source of evidence will be largely limited to an examination of church and chapel attendance figures. The returns of the Census can offer only minimal insight into wider dimensions of religious practice, namely, religious knowledge, Christian belief, faith in God or adherence to a moral imperative. For this reason, the thesis will confine its attention to an analysis of religious attendance and provision in a region which, although being predominantly industrial but with a significant agricultural area, has largely been ignored by social and religious historians.

It has been decided to concentrate specifically upon an examination of attendance at Sunday services rather than a more comprehensive analysis of religious practice, which may have ranged from a simple adherence to the moral codes and values of Christianity without any specific denominational allegiance to a conversionist faith and active involvement with a particular church or chapel. Glock and Stark divide religious practice into five "dimensions" of religious sub-activity: ideological; ritualistic; experiential;

intellectual and consequential. They argue that the extent of each activity can then be indicated by recognizable factors such as prayer and worship, church and chapel attendance, the level of religious conversion and knowledge and the impact of organised religion upon general society.[2] Field argues, however, that churchgoing on a Sunday has been taken both by the various denominations and by lay people to be the most apparent mark of religiosity because it is a measurable and public expression of identification with organised religion.[3]

This study has undertaken two very distinct approaches in the analysis of religious attendance and provision within Birmingham and the Black Country and the surrounding rural area[4] during the mid-nineteenth century. Initially, the discernible regional patterns of religious attendance and provision have been analysed, using the 1851 Religious Census as the major source of evidence. Subsequently, a number of case studies of specified settlements within the region covering a twenty year period from 1840 to 1860 has been undertaken, using local evidence of church and chapel attendance and accommodation. This has facilitated a more dynamic analysis than was possible from sole reliance upon the returns of the 1851 Religious Census.

It is important not only to recognise the intent of the 1851 Religious Census but also to examine the problems faced by social and ecclesiastical historians when using it as a piece of evidence. Such an examination is entered upon in sections 1.3 and 1.4 and includes an evaluation of the existing formulae by which the census data has been processed. The Census was a unique undertaking relating to one particular Sunday in March 1851. Therefore, it can offer the historian only a snapshot of the level of attendance at churches and chapels in the mid-nineteenth century and of itself cannot be used to explain changes in religious attendance over time.

The static nature of the Census, however, has become a positive advantage to the historian if it is used in conjunction with the population census which was held at the same time, and thus being part of the same static methodology. As a result, the attendance and accommodation levels on March 30, 1851, have been analysed not only by comparing the identified locational, demographic and denominational patterns of distribution within the region, but also in terms of the functional, spatial, occupational, demographic and economic nature of the region's individual settlements.

In order to carry out such an analysis it has been necessary to construct a typology of settlement for the region. In sections 1.5 the economic and social

development of the region has been examined and a suitable typology of settlement devised. This has extended the original aim of the study to include not only a regional analysis of the patterns of religious attendance and provision in terms of denominational distribution, but also in terms of settlement type.

1.2 National analyses of religious provision and attendance in the mid-nineteenth century.

> "'Yes Sir' said the girl with a vacant face and the back like a grasshopper; 'I be a reg'lar born Christian and my mother afore me, and that's what few gals in the Yard can say.
>
> 'Ah! me' thought Morley, 'and could they not spare one missionary from Tahiti for their fellow-countrymen at Wodgate'"[5]

In Disraeli's book, "Sybil", this young girl was one of a minority of the workers who was a regular church or chapel attender in the mythical industrial town of Wodgate which was based closely upon a Black Country town in the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the factual background for the novel came from a Parliamentary Report on children's employment in the Black Country.[6] Disraeli identified the major problem facing organised religion in general, and the Anglican Church in particular, as a lack of regular attendance at church on Sunday by the working class in the newly created industrial districts.

Inglis argues that the majority of the working class were not in the habit of church attendance throughout the nineteenth century.[7] Moreover, whereas Norman argues that the missionary work undertaken by evangelical Anglican clergymen in some of the larger English industrial towns and cities during the second quarter of the nineteenth century was the last example of the State using religion as a form of social control, Ward even disputes whether the Anglicans had any effective role to play in the socialisation of the

new industrial districts beyond 1830 because they lacked the necessary weapons such as itinerant preachers and Sunday schools to try to make effective contact with the industrial working class.[8] Certainly, one of the greatest concerns of both the religious and secular authorities in the first half of the nineteenth century was the failure of the Church to reach the mass of the people.[9]

Between 1740 and 1830, the population of England had increased from five and a half million to over thirteen million, yet Anglican accommodation had increased only marginally.[10] The greatest increases in population were taking place in the industrial towns where church provision was already at a minimum.[11] Competition from protestant non-conformity, especially Methodism, was strongest in these new industrial towns, and this, together with the lack of accommodation, posed the greatest challenge to the Church. In addition to these religious problems, the State between 1815 and 1850 was in constant fear of insurrection and revolution in these crowded and volatile places, and it was felt that the presence of the Church would help alleviate this tension.

Consequently, the Church of England initiated nationally a number of church building programmes to provide adequate accommodation and encourage higher attendance in an attempt to maintain an influential

presence in a rapidly growing industrial society. These industrial districts were not the traditional constituency of the Anglican Church, the parochial system employed by the Church of England being based upon a more stable, pre-industrial society.[12]

The majority of the clergy were middle class and were totally alien to the nature of an industrial town and the experiences of its population. In 1830, nearly half the clergy were non-resident, the greatest incidence of this occurring in industrial parishes.[13] For example, the parish of Sedgley had been non-resident for so long before the arrival of the evangelical clergyman, Charles Girdlestone in 1826, that the vicarage was uninhabitable. In the adjacent town of Wolverhampton, only one Dean of Wolverhampton and Windsor had lived there.[14] Moreover, in some of the industrial towns, the Anglican church was seen to represent repressive political and economic interests, especially in towns such as Birmingham where its traditional liberalism was in conflict with the local Anglican establishment who, in 1830, not only imposed Church Rates, had two non-resident incumbents at St. Phillip's and St. Martin's, but also supported the Tory party.[15]

Notwithstanding this, however, Gilbert argues that the almost predominantly rural English society before the Industrial Revolution was not universally religious. Contemporary observers in the early seventeenth century

thought that as much as one in four of the population was irreligious despite the fines for non-attendance before 1689. McLeod argues that the influence of the Church of England and the commitment of the population to it declined throughout the eighteenth century and Cox compares the apathy of that century with that of the present one.[16]

There was, however, a revival in the fortunes of the Anglicans in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Using Easter Day communicants as a measure of participation in the Anglican church, Gilbert argues that absolute numbers did not alter significantly between 1740 and 1830 but fell dramatically when compared with the increase in population. Following 1830, the numbers increased with the rise in population, thus maintaining the density rate of communicants.[17] Gill, however, argues that the number of Easter Communicants represented such a small proportion of regular worshippers at the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century that it puts into question the use of Easter Communicants as an indicator of Anglican attendance.[18]

One of the most significant reasons for this turn of events was the evangelical revival experienced in the Anglican churches of some large towns. These clergymen wanted to take the Church into the working class districts of the new industrial towns using the same

evangelical methods as the Methodists. They demanded more churches be built and the ending of pew rents in these districts, believing that if additional and affordable religious accommodation was provided then religious attendance would increase and become more regular. The success of this revival differed from town to town and was very much determined by the commitment of the incumbent.

The evangelicals' promotion of extra accommodation in towns as a means of maintaining a presence resulted in a subsequent increase in the level of public funds made available for church extension programmes.[19] Anglican evangelicalism may not have succeeded in its primary objective of creating a significantly large proportion of the industrial working class who were regular attenders at church, but it did force a public acknowledgement of the importance of religion among the urban upper and middle classes. In other words, it was recognized that regular church attendance was indeed desirable and, in order for this to be achieved, additional and affordable accommodation had to be provided.[20]

Initially, the Church Building Act of 1818 made available £1 million, with an additional grant of half a million pounds in 1824, to build additional churches ensuring at least one Anglican church for every 4,000 people throughout the country, and at least 60% of the

sittings of these new churches were free.[21] The allocation of these grants was largely haphazard and misdirected and, consequently, Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who were introduced in 1834, increasingly took over the administration of church building grants. Indeed, the New Parishes Act of 1843 - Peel's Act - gave these Ecclesiastical Commissioners the power to create new parochial districts. Whereas 389 new Anglican churches were built in England between 1820 and 1835, 1119 were built in the following fifteen years.[22] Norman estimates the total cost of church building in the first half of the nineteenth century to be £9 million.[23]

Gill argues that these church building programmes associated were so successful that there was an abundance of Anglican provision during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, he argues that between 1821 and 1851, as a direct result of the rise of Anglican evangelicalism, attendances at the Church of England grew faster than those of the Protestant dissenting bodies, especially in the large industrial centres of Liverpool and Manchester. This was the result of structural changes in the Church of England within the diocese of Chester, the fastest growing diocese in the country. Under the guidance of Bishop Sumner, an avowed Evangelical, a more systematic approach was encouraged for lay visitations and regular

home instruction in Christian teaching was introduced. Most importantly, more new churches were built.[24]

The rise of Anglican evangelicalism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was not only a direct consequence of the earlier success of non-conformist, especially Methodist, evangelism in the industrial districts, but also it was inspired by this earlier movement. Protestant dissent from the Anglican church dates back to the Elizabethan period. The influence of such sects as the Presbyterians, the Independents and the Baptists reached its peak with the Puritan revolution and the Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century.

Following this, measures were introduced to re-establish the authority of the Church of England, lessen the influence of non-conformity and end the threat of Catholicism. The Corporation Act in 1661 and the Act of Uniformity in 1662 required all members of corporations, clergymen, schoolmasters and college fellows to accept the Book of Common Prayer and the rites of the Church of England. The Conventicle Act was passed in 1664, forbidding religious meetings, other than family meetings, of more than five people, except in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer. In the following year, the Five Mile Act forbade all ministers who had refused to conform with the Act of Uniformity to live within five miles of any parish where they had

been ministers, any place where they held conventicles or any city or incorporated town.[25]

Amongst those ejected were the Rev. John Reynolds, the rector of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton and Joseph Eccleshall, the vicar of Sedgley.[26] Subsequently, in 1673, the Test Act provided the same requirements for all persons holding any civil or military office.[27] These measures affected more the non-conformists who lived in towns, the very places where they had their greatest presence. It was these measures, however, which resulted in the establishment of non-conformist dissenting congregations in the eighteenth century in unincorporated "towns" such as Birmingham.

This overtly political legislation did much to cause the decline in religious practice in England in the first half of the eighteenth century as the Anglican clergy relied upon the state to impose religious conformity. There was some relaxation of these laws when Declarations of Indulgence were granted by both Charles II and James II. However, these were short lived because a reduction in the prescriptive powers of the state to force people to attend the Anglican church resulted not in an increase of the dissenters' congregations but in general non-attendance.

Likewise, the Toleration Act of 1689, which allowed some dissenters to worship outside the Established Church, encouraged a tolerance not only of dissent but also of irreligion. There was a general lack of concern, at both a national and a local level, about non-attendance at Sunday service which was seen in the same light as attendance at a dissenting chapel. Gilbert argues that it was the pastoral neglect by local Anglican clergymen which "was creating a context for the operation of voluntary religious agencies, notably Methodism."28

In the first half of the eighteenth century, John Wesley began a powerful reform movement within the Anglican Church. As a young man, Wesley was dissatisfied with Anglicanism. He felt that there was little sense of personal religious experience in Anglican worship and that the Church did not do enough to help the lower classes grow spiritually. He advocated and implemented a form of itinerant evangelism, establishing congregations and societies which administered their own affairs in conjunction with the occasional visit from the itinerant.

These societies, however, were under the autocratic control of Wesley in a manner which was alien to the older forms of dissent such as the Quakers, Baptists and Independents. Although this tended to improve the organisation of the Methodists and their rate of

recruitment, Thompson[29] argues that the democratic tendencies inherent in dissent, in general, and the Methodist laity, in particular, resulted in the divisions in the Methodist movement after the death of Wesley, the most significant of these being the secessions of the Methodist New Connexion and the Primitive Methodists.

The Methodist New Connexion, the "Tom Paine Methodists", were the first group to leave the Wesleyans in 1797. Since the death of Wesley six years earlier, Alexander Kilham, the eventual leader of the New Connexion, had been strongly advocating that all links with the Established Church should be severed. In addition, in a number of pamphlets written between 1791 and 1795, he pressed for greater democracy within Methodism as a means to include the laity within its government, especially at a local level.[30]

Kilham was expelled from the Methodists on July 28, 1796 and "The New Itinerancy", a forerunner of the Methodist New Connexion, was formed on August 9, 1797 when three Methodist itinerants joined him. The New Connexion gained approximately five thousand members, or 10% of the total Methodist membership, but were unable to expand significantly in the first decades of the nineteenth century, partially as a result of Kilham's premature death in 1798.[31] By its fiftieth anniversary, however, the New Connexion had established

itself in a number of regions throughout the country. Membership was almost twenty thousand, and nine hundred local and travelling preachers continued to promote Kilham's ideas of religious liberty and democracy in more than three hundred chapels.[32]

On the other hand, the initial growth of Primitive Methodism, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was far more spectacular than that experienced by the New Connexion. In the ten years following its formation in 1812, the Connexional membership increased more than four-fold, from 7,842 to 33,507. Although they could not maintain such a rate of growth throughout the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century, there were over one hundred thousand members of the Primitive Methodist connexion worshipping at over five thousand places of worship.[33]

The Primitive Methodists originated at Mow Cop on the Staffordshire-Cheshire border during the first decade of the nineteenth century as a reaction against what they regarded as the growing institutionalisation and centralism of Wesleyanism. Unlike the New Connexion, however, the Primitives' quarrel with Wesleyanism was not over internal democracy rather the means to spread their message more effectively. To them the essence of Methodism was evangelicalism and missionary work.

The two leaders, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, used open-air or camp meetings to preach to a wider audience than the usual chapel attenders, a strategy which led to the expulsion of both men. It was, however, a strategy which proved successful, especially in the small, almost exclusively working class, industrial and agricultural villages which the Wesleyans had largely neglected. Leese argues that working class exclusivity of the Connexion made it an unattractive prospect for those Methodist who wished to improve their social and economic position, but the absence of the propertied class, coupled with the strong morality and unworldliness of their message, made the Primitive Methodists an appealing form of religion to the uncommitted working class with little or no formal religious background.[34]

There were further secessions from the Wesleyans during the first half of the nineteenth century, largely seen as a result of tensions between an increasingly autocratic ministry and a more radical laity.[35] The formation of the Wesleyan Association, later known as the Wesleyan Methodist Association, in 1836, under the Presidency of Dr. Samuel Warren, the former Superintendent of the Manchester circuit, was the direct consequence of the foundation of a Theological Institution to train potential itinerant preachers. This group joined with an earlier group of seceders

from Leeds, the Protestant Methodists, to form the Association. [36]

A larger division in the Wesleyan Connexion occurred in 1849 with the formation of the Wesleyan Reformers following the expulsion of James Everitt, Samuel Dunn and William Griffith in the conference of that year. Over the previous three years, a number of anonymous fly sheets had been circulated attacking the oligarchic tendencies of conference rule and the centralisation of power around Bunting and his colleagues. The conference of 1847 resolved that a declaration, denying authorship of, and support for, the fly sheets, must be signed by all ministers in order to demonstrate their allegiance to the Connexion.[37] Following an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the President of Conference to re-instate those expelled, the "Declaration of Principles" of the Wesleyan Reformers were formulated in 1852 by four hundred delegates, representing the groups of reformers throughout the country, advocating greater local democracy and an increased role for the laity.[38]

According to Gilbert, Methodist density peaked during the 1840s when approximately between four and five out of every hundred people in England and Wales were Methodists members. In 1856, this figure had fallen to 3.8%, largely as a result of a loss of at least 100,000 Wesleyan members between 1849 and 1854, representing almost a third of the Wesleyan Connexion, following the

expulsion of Everitt, Griffith and Dunn and the subsequent formation of the Wesleyan Reformers. This resulted in the peak of Wesleyan membership happening at the end of the 1840's rather than between 1861 and 1881 when the Primitives recorded their highest membership levels.[39]

Currie, Gilbert and Horsley date the peak in Methodist membership earlier than the 1840's, when arguing that the Church of England grew after 1835, and throughout the mid-nineteenth century, at the expense of the non-conformists.[40] Ward argues that, as early as the 1820s, Methodism, especially Wesleyanism, had become so closely identified with middle class authority in the new industrial districts that it could never be identified afterwards as a popular urban religion. The Wesleyans were attempting to establish themselves with new permanent places of worship in urban areas where "the right kind of chapel in the right site could attract a congregation of gratifying number and attitude." As a result more permanent preachers were required which resulted in a redirection of funds from the itinerant preacher, whose role in some areas was little more than a social regulator.[41]

Walker argues that any growth in Wesleyan Methodism after the 1830s did not keep pace with the rise in population and was achieved generally in a series of revivals which attracted more previous members and

adherents rather than new recruits.[42] This does not discount the extensive work carried out by missionaries, most notably from the Primitive Methodists, from town and industrial chapels in neighbouring rural and semi-rural villages. To a great extent, however, by the mid-nineteenth century the Methodists, especially the Wesleyans, were more concerned with upward social mobility and the establishment of their chapel within the community rather than the conversion of new working class recruits. According to Inglis,

> "Socially, the Church of England and Methodism were moving in opposite directions: the Church was turning slowly and clumsily to face classes which it had long ignored, and the Methodists, sprung from the same classes, were in many places shedding their humble associations."[43]

From the outset the Methodists had achieved their greatest success in the large northern parishes where the influence of the clergy, when resident, declined as the distance from the parish church increased.[44] The new recruits were drawn largely from the same artisan classes from which the older dissenting denominations had recruited.[45] The evangelical revival, inspired by the work of the Methodist itinerant preachers at the end of the century, resulted in a revitalisation of all religious denominations including the older forms of dissent.

Both the Baptists and the Congregational church, which represented an amalgam of various strands of eighteenth

century Independency, became more assertive as a result of the evangelical revival. Less distinction was made between the classes and, despite its roots in middle class propriety, by the mid-nineteenth century most social classes were represented in the membership of both the Baptists and the Congregationalists.[46]

Congregational churches, such as Queen Street in Wolverhampton, were sending preachers into the nearby rural communities throughout the first half of the nineteenth century to establish new congregations.[47] Likewise, the Baptists in Sedgley, one of the oldest in the West Midlands, had established new chapels during the same period. In 1809, following a division at Darkhouse chapel, part of the membership founded the Providence Baptist Church in Coseley and in 1856, some of the members at both these chapels established a new place of worship, the Ebenezer Chapel.[48]

They had also become more aware of poverty. For example, Thomas Godwin, the minister at the Congregational church in Temple Street, Wolverhampton refused to wear a powdered wig whilst the people were starving as a result of the severe depression following the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[49] At the same time, the Baptists in Brettal Lane Chapel near Dudley opened soup kitchens for their members in hardship.[50]

1.3 The Interpretation of the findings of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship.

The 1851 Religious Census was a remarkable undertaking, not only because of the large amount of data collected but also because it happened only once. It is the most complete record of religious attendance and provision ever compiled, but only for one day in a single month in just one year.[51] The only comparable Census is that of 1676, which simply lists the number of Anglicans, Catholics and Protestant Non-conformists per parish, but the returns for the royal peculiars and most of the Northern parishes are almost non-existent.

The intention of the Census was to count the number of people attending church or chapel and to assess the level of accommodation in all places of worship.[52] Although doubts have been raised concerning not only the reliability of the figures but also their applicability, the Census remains the most complete national picture of observance ever produced.[53]

Public money had been heavily invested in church building during the first half of the nineteenth century and, consequently, it was necessary for the State to assess the success of the various programmes. This required a survey of religious provision and attendance to discover the number of additional places of worship which had been built following the building programmes and, more importantly, what proportion of

the population were attending Sunday service. Primarily, the authorities were more concerned about the Anglicans, as funds had been targeted almost exclusively at the Church of England. However, a fuller picture of the state of religion in the country would be obtained if all places of worship were surveyed.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the organisation of the decennial population census was not such as to be capable of undertaking any additional surveys. However, a new system of registration was introduced in 1851, based upon the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which divided England and Wales into 624 registration districts, a regional structure which defined unambiguously both the boundaries and the responsibilities of each district and thereby increased the efficiency of the Census administration. The collection of the Census data was made more effective as 30,610 paid enumerators were employed to collect and collate the data.[54] Each enumerator was responsible for 200 houses or, in a rural area, a route which could be walked in a single day, approximately fifteen miles.[55] Every place of worship within the district was located in advance, usually only one or two for each enumerator, thus minimising the risk of omission.[56]

The Census was held on Sunday 30 March and involved a head count of the number of people attending all services on that day. The schedule was completed either

by the incumbent or by an official of the place of worship and subsequently returned to one of 2190 local registrars.[57] Schedules were compared with previously prepared lists of places of worship and, in the case of any omissions or deficiencies in the information, a form was sent out asking for the average attendance for the previous twelve months. Once checked, the schedules were sent to Horace Mann, a young barrister, who had been given the task of presenting the findings to Parliament.

There were three different schedules:[58] one for the Established Church, the Church of England; one for the Society of Friends, the Quakers; and one for all other denominations. The main objective of the census was to determine whether sufficient religious provision existed for those worshippers who attended Sunday service. Consequently, at each identified place of worship, the level of accommodation, both standing and seated, and the proportion of free accommodation were recorded, and the worshippers at each service were counted. Details concerning the date at which the church or chapel and had been erected and its denomination were also required. However, if the place of worship had been erected or consecrated before 1800 it was sufficient to record "Pre 1800".

The reliability of the Census has been questioned because of its administrative and procedural defects.

No pilot study had been previously undertaken to test its validity. There were no instructions issued concerning the counting of the congregation or designated tellers and no procedure existed to verify attendance figures. As a result, some census returns would give a specific figure, others to the nearest ten or even hundred.[59] Moreover, the competence of both the local enumerators and Mann's staff has been questioned.[60]

The Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, claimed that the returns of the dissenters had been deliberately inflated to suggest that they had a higher proportion of worshippers. He also accused them of attempting to increase attendances on Census Sunday by urging people to attend two or more services, and by procuring the best preachers on that day.[61] Questions of finance were felt by some to compromise the integrity of the clergy, and because of this opposition the completion of the returns was not made compulsory.[62]

Many returns from all denominations, however, gave reasons for low attendance. These included bad weather: it rained in some places on that Sunday. In addition, Sunday March 30, 1851, was mid-Lent Sunday or "Mothering Sunday" which had been a traditional holiday and feast day when many people, especially in industrial districts such as the Black Country, visited parents and other relatives. Therefore, many regular

worshippers were either missing on that day or only attended one service rather than two or three.[63] Watts even suggests that non-completion of returns by some clergy was not due to opposition to the principle of the Census but to embarrassment at the size of the congregation.[64] However, many historians agree that the returns from the Census were broadly accurate and reliable.[65]

The 1851 Census was not absolutely unique, however. Other subsequent local censuses were commissioned throughout the country usually by local newspapers. In the 1830's the Manchester Statistical Society had undertaken a survey of religious attendance in a number of northern towns, including Manchester and York.[66] The most comprehensive was by Mudie-Smith in 1902-3 commissioned by the Daily News for the London Area.[67] In the West Midlands, small surveys of religious attendance were carried out in the 1880s and 1890s in both Wolverhampton and Birmingham.[68]

However, the experience of 1851 was never repeated. This may have been due to the findings of the Census which showed that less than half the general population attended any service on Census Sunday and less than half of those attended the Church of England.[69] These findings increased the opposition of an already suspicious Anglican Church to "head count" censuses. Before the Census was taken some Anglican clergy had

voiced their opposition to it. Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, claimed that the non-conformist ministers were not as educated or of the same rank as the Anglican clergy and, therefore, would be more liable to exaggerate the attendance. He even claimed that Anglican worshippers were less likely to attend in bad weather and urged the clergy in his diocese not to fill in the schedule.[70]

After the publication of the Census Report, the Anglicans became even more adamant that any future survey of religious practice would be undertaken only as a religious profession question in the population census so that the religious preference of all the country, and not just those who attended church or chapel on one specific Sunday, could be ascertained. This was not acceptable to the non-conformists because the answering of questions on the population census was compulsory, a requirement which totally contradicted their belief that no-one should be forced to reveal their religious preference.[71]

Attempts were made both in 1861 and 1871 to include a religious question in the census. Both times it was passed in the Lords only to be defeated in the Commons because of Liberal opposition.[72] These failures explain why no more national religious censuses were held. This increases the importance of the 1851 Religious Census but limits its usefulness to the religious and social

historian as it cannot be used to indicate any changes in religious attendance over time. Furthermore, major problems of interpretation have arisen for the social and religious historian when attempting to estimate individual attendance. Assuming that the returns were broadly accurate, it is still not clear what the figures actually represent and how many individuals attended church and chapel on 30 March, 1851.

The individual schedules for the places of worship did not become available until 1951 and Inglis, in the late 1950s, was the first modern historian to investigate the findings of the Census. He used them to create an indicator which could be used to compare religious attendance throughout the country by constructing an Index of Attendance (IA) through adding morning, afternoon and evening attendances and representing this as a percentage of the general population.[73] He gave the IA for the whole of England and Wales as 61, 71.4 in rural districts and 49.7 in large towns of over 10,000. Most large towns, therefore, had an IA under the national average, and the largest industrial centres such as London, Manchester and Birmingham had the lowest IAs of all.

Using Inglis' formula, IAs of over 100, seemingly impossible, have been obtained. This was due to multiple attendance, that is people attending more than once on Census Sunday. Although it could be argued that

multiple attendance showed greater commitment to a denomination specifically, or to organized religion generally, the problem of "twicers" and "thricers" is the greatest facing historians interpreting the returns. For the original purpose of the Census, however, multiple attendance was not a problem. The Census did not try to identify individual attenders, only to discover whether there was adequate provision for a growing population and whether such provision was being used.

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that a "twicer" attended the same church or even the same denomination. In 1851, it was not unusual for a Methodist to attend Church in the morning and chapel in the afternoon. For example, the first mayor of Wolverhampton, the Iron Master, G.B. Thorneycroft, worshipped at the Anglican Collegiate Church of St. Peter's in the morning and the Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Darlington Street in the afternoon. Lower down the social scale, Thomas Deloy, a 19 year old moulder at Thorneycroft's Ironworks, regularly attended both church and chapel.[74]

To avoid the problems caused to the historian by multiple attendance, Pickering, writing a rejoinder to Inglis in the 1960s, suggested that only the best attended service should be used in analysis rather than the total daily attendance, as this would represent the highest possible minimum figure.[75] However, whereas

Inglis' formula would overestimate individual attendance at those places of worship where more than one service was held on Census Sunday, Pickering's formula would underestimate it. Moreover, if the tendency towards holding only one service was not distributed evenly throughout denominations, regions, and urban or rural communities, comparison would be difficult, unless the sample is restricted to those denominations, regions and communities which had a similar number of daily services.[76] Any analysis of the returns of the 1851 Religious Census, therefore, would be more rigorous if any differences in the distribution of services throughout the area under study are identified and considered.

Other historians have used different formulae to overcome the problem of multiple attendance. These include Horace Mann himself, who added the morning attendance to half that of the afternoon and to a third that of the evening. This formula, however, was said to favour the Anglicans who worshipped more often in the morning. In 1970, Shaw, writing on Methodist attendance, amended this by adding together the figures for the best attended service to half the total of the second best, and a third of the total of the third. More recently, Watts, using the results of the Census taken by Mudie-Smith in London, proposed a formula of best attended service plus one third of the other attendances.[77]

Therefore, the only common attribute of all these formulae is their inapplicability as a means of determining individual attendance. They all produce specific IAs through a procedure which cannot be validated. Only by chance would an IA equate to actual individual attendance.[78] All that can be assumed reasonably is that the total individual attendance of any place of worship lay between a minimum of best attended service and a maximum of the aggregated attendance of morning, afternoon and evening services.[79]

Some recent work on the Census has included a measure of quantitative analysis. Spearman's Rank Correlation has been used both by Burrows to measure the performance of each denomination at a parish level, and by Lacqueur to indicate a strong negative correlation between church attendance and per capita Sunday School enrolment.[80] Snell, on the other hand, has used correlation coefficients to measure the spread of denominations in the area, whereas Brown has used regression analysis to correlate church and chapel attendance in the towns of England, Scotland and Wales with three variables: a town's population in 1851; its rate of growth between 1841 and 1851; and the equivalent rate of growth between 1801 and 1851.[81]

In studies of the West Midlands, Ell too uses regression and multiple regression analysis in attempting to show that religious attendance in Warwickshire was at least in part determined by the population of a parish and its growth or otherwise, whereas Compton uses linear regression to argue that, in Staffordshire, there was a strong negative correlation between the attendance levels of the Anglicans and the Methodists, that is, the Methodists were strongest in those parishes where the Anglicans were weakest.[82]

Other indicators have been used to interpret the Census findings. In the 1980's, Coleman constructed a percentage share model (PS) measuring the attendance of a single denomination or denominational grouping as a percentage of the aggregate attendance of all denominations. Earlier, Jones had constructed an Accommodation Rate (AR), the provision of sittings as a proportion of the population, to test the correlation between the levels of attendance and accommodation.[83]

Originally, historians used the Census to explain national patterns of religious attendance and, consequently, it has been assumed that the distribution of multiple attendance was constant throughout the country. They did not take into account any regional or local factors which affected attendance at individual places of worship or in specific areas. Historians such

as Inglis and Pickering have concentrated on the general rather than the specific, stressing the similarities of individual behaviour to emphasise the difference between urban and rural attendance levels and any changes caused by the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society.

Most recent studies, however, have challenged the assumption of broad national patterns by exploring regional differences and claiming that religious attendance patterns were established more by specific regional factors than by the general level of industry and population size.[84] For example, Coleman argues that Anglican attendance rates were lower in the North and West as a consequence of the church's inability to administer and provide pastoral care in parts of the country where parishes tended to be larger and were further from the influence of central authorities.[85] Other historians have used a local perspective, concentrating on a single denomination in a locality, discerning patterns from an individual church or chapel or a small number of places of worship.[86]

The lack of consistency in the definition of the area under study amongst historians studying the 1851 Religious Census has caused great confusion. Some have used the parish, others boroughs, parliamentary or otherwise, yet others the registration or sub-registration district. There is a further problem with

overlapping jurisdictions. For example, in 1851, Sedgley was a sub-registration district of the Dudley Poor Law Union, and thus was part of the Dudley Registration district, yet it also lay within Wolverhampton's Parliamentary boundaries.[87]

The basic spatial unit in these regional analyses is usually either the county or the parish. In 1851, the county still retained many of its traditional administrative functions. It was distinct, measurable and tangible, and not greatly altered by the effects of the previous hundred years, and was thus regarded as a suitable unit for the study of the changes in religious practice in this period. Both Coleman and Snell, for example, define the region under examination in their studies as a collection of five counties. Indeed, Snell argues that a county study would not render sufficient data to generate usable results and so he used an umbrella term, region, to represent five counties in the "north Midlands".[88] Burrows, however, argues that patterns of religious worship did not confine themselves to county limits and, therefore, the county is not suitable as a spatial unit in which religious attendance can be analysed.[89]

The parish has been used particularly by local historians analysing rural and semi-rural areas.[90] Once the parish becomes the basic unit of study there is a need to identify the structure of the parish and the

different types of community within it. Both Everitt and Jones[91] stress the importance of the type of community in determining the level of attendance, arguing that dissent is found in rural parishes with a greater variety of specialised employment, especially industrial. In a nucleated parish, that is one with a well defined centre and a small number of substantial settlements, specialised employment would be more available, and the incidence of dissent would be higher. In a non-nucleated parish, without a well defined centre, a service sector for local agriculture would be less evident and, therefore, less specialised craftsmen would live within the parish. Tiller suggests, in her research on Oxfordshire, that proximity to a market town allowed some workers to move out of the traditional direct chain of rural dependence and become less susceptible to the influence of the squire.[92]

Some historians have compared settlements within the parish in accordance with the relationship between landlord and tenant and the distribution of landownership, identifying the villages as either "open" or "close".[93] "Close" villages had small populations and were owned by a single landlord, whereas "open" villages had higher populations and no single landlord. Obelkevich, in his study of South Lindsey, established four different types of parish based on landownership.[94]

It is generally agreed that the greater the degree of openness the greater the level of dissent within the parish or village. "Open" villages were more exposed to influences from outside the community, thus undermining the traditional squirearchy of landlord and parson which controlled totally both the spiritual and material lives of the villagers or parishioners.[95] Thompson, however, argues that overall attendance was higher in the "close" rather than the "open" villages of Leicestershire because the success of a denomination in an "open" village was determined by the commitment of the members.[96]

Non-conformity, especially Methodism, flourished in "industrial villages" which spread throughout England in the early nineteenth century. These settlements sprang up in the newly industrialised areas as a result of the increased demand for commodities, such as coal and iron, caused by industrialisation. Their existence could be as short as that demand lasted, leaving a continual threat of impermanence.

Gilbert maintains that they offered the non-conformists an opportunity to convert the population without the competition and influence of the Anglicans. Both Everitt and Hopkins agree that the high level of non-conformity, especially Methodism, in these settlements was a result of their physical and social isolation.

Everitt stresses the physical isolation of such settlements, arguing that rural non-conformity flourished on the border of two or more parishes where the authority of the local landlord and the parson was at a minimum. On the other hand, Hopkins emphasises the social homogeneity of the population of the settlements which were almost exclusively working class.[97]

There seems to be no universally accepted definition of an "industrial village", indeed, Mills identified at least four different types.[98]. Both Everitt and Hopkins see it as a small industrial settlement which had grown out of the Industrial Revolution, yet there were examples within the Black Country of similarly sized settlements which were by the mid-nineteenth century totally industrialised, but which had existed before the Industrial Revolution, either as an exclusively agricultural settlement or had included some industrial activity. If all these different settlement types can be identified as "industrial villages" then the term is not specific enough to be a useful definition.

1.4 Regional analyses of religious provision and attendance in the mid-nineteenth century.

The problems faced by the Anglican church in the mid-nineteenth century were no more apparent than in the region under consideration. The Church of England had largely neglected both the industrial parishes of the Black Country and the Birmingham area during the previous hundred years because parishes such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Sedgley became too large to administer,[99] and the new industrial population were too alienated from the middle class clergy. The situation was summed up by the desperate words of the incumbent of Coseley in 1853.

> "From this desolate and dispiriting region, the minister of God, depressed by a painful consciousness of his own inability to meet the moral exigencies of his situation, and isolated of necessity in a great measure from local sympathy and society would raise a voice."[100]

Cumberland argues that in the Black Country the Anglicans did not maintain a significant presence during the second half of the eighteenth century. This allowed the non-conformists, especially the Methodists, to establish substantial congregations throughout the region. Between 1780 and 1830 the per-capita proportion of Anglican sittings in the Black Country fell from one in eight to one in twelve.[101]

More recently, however, Walters has argued that the level of Anglican accommodation increased after 1830, as a direct result of the work and influence of Anglican Evangelicalism, especially in Wolverhampton

and Sedgley under the guidance of a small number of clergymen including William Dalton and Charles Girdlestone. They advocated evangelical methods to re-establish the Church of England by personal contact with the people, the most important element being the building of new churches in industrial districts.[102]

Flavell seeks to show that the re-establishment of Anglicanism in the Black Country was already underway before the influence of this group of Evangelicals arrived on the scene. The number of permanent residences, that is clergymen living within their parish, had been increasing since the end of the eighteenth century.[103] Girdlestone was the first incumbent in Sedgley for over a century who lived there and did not administer other parishes elsewhere. In another recent study, Powick supports Flavell's chronological claim in arguing that early Victorian Stourbridge was a successful Church of England parish throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.[104]

According to Robson, the level of religious attendance in the mid-nineteenth century in the Black Country, a mainly industrial region, was above the national average, thus contradicting Inglis' notion that lower attendances were found in urban and industrial areas. Furthermore, he shows that both Wolverhampton and Dudley had higher IAs than in the surrounding rural

area, 53.08 as against 49.62 and 55.32 as against 54 respectively.[105]

This pattern of higher urban than rural attendance has been identified by historians investigating other parts of Great Britain. The level of attendance in Warrington was higher than in the surrounding countryside and the urban churches in Cheshire were fuller than the rural ones.[106] In Scotland, too, Brown argues that there is no correlation between the size of the town and churchgoing rates, concluding that the evidence of the 1851 Religious Census in Scotland raises major questions concerning the link between growing urbanisation and the decline in churchgoing. Indeed, Glasgow, the country's largest industrial centre, had a level of attendance greater than that achieved by a quarter of Scotland's rural counties.[107] Unlike Robson, however, Brown's analysis is national rather than regional and, therefore, the level of attendance of an industrial centre and the surrounding rural area are not compared.

Robson's views on higher than average attendances in the Black Country are substantiated by Hopkins who, in his study of Lye and Wollescote near Stourbridge, shows that high religious attendance and exclusively working class communities were not incompatible. Both communities had a high proportion of working class people and high, predominantly Methodist, attendance.

In addition, these communities were very insular and demographically stable. In 1851, 82% of the population of Lye and 88% of the population of Wollescote had been born there, compared with 53% in nearby Stourbridge.[108] An absence of long distance mobility was a general feature of the Black Country in the mid-nineteenth century. Barnsby estimated that, of the population of the Wolverhampton registration district in 1861, 70% were born in Staffordshire and 10% were born in Shropshire; and that in the Black Country as a whole, an average of between 70-80% were born there or in the neighbouring districts.[109]

Robson attributed this high level of attendance to the popularity of Methodism whose strength in the region may have been due to the inability of the Church of England to maintain even its meagre pre-industrial level of church accommodation during the massive demographic upheavals caused by the Industrial Revolution. At the same time Methodist conversion was achieved through the work of itinerant and local lay preachers. They concentrated their efforts upon one town or village, or a group of small villages, to gain enough followers to ensure a presence after they had left. The Black Country with its large number of small industrial communities was well suited to this strategy.[110] Although the lack of Anglican accommodation may explain some of the gains made by the non-conformists, it cannot explain the success of

Methodism in the Black Country in attracting a significant number of extra people who might otherwise have attended nowhere, a feature which was evident also in neighbouring Shropshire.[111]

Inglis argues that Methodism did not flourish in the large cities or towns such as Birmingham and Wolverhampton but in the smaller mining and textile towns because it was more usual for employer and employee to attend the same chapel in these smaller towns. The Methodist employer could perform the same role of patrician as the squire in the agricultural village with the Methodist chapel replacing the Parish Church.[112]

Inglis only discriminates between large towns of over 30,000 inhabitants and the smaller mining and textile towns, with Methodism much more successful in the smaller settlements. In the Black Country, however, the highest Methodist IAs were found in industrial towns with a population of over rather than under 10,000. If, as Inglis argues, the reason for high Methodist support was due to the "patronage" and influence of the Methodist employer acting as an industrial squire, this influence would have been strongest in the places where these "industrial squires" were the sole, or at least a major employer, those industrial settlements with fewer industries and less employers.

Methodism was popular throughout the Black Country, but the heartland of Methodism was the small pit community. In such communities, apart from the pub and the cockfight, the only communal place outside the direct influence of the employer was the chapel or the meeting place. The lack of middle class involvement was a positive incentive to recruitment in these homogeneous communities. The chapel offered not only an alternative communal place but an alternative lifestyle without drink, especially for women.

The most exclusively working class form of Methodism was that preached by the Primitive Methodists or "Ranters". Their first preacher to enter the region was Hugh Bourne in July 1810. Walking from the Potteries, he preached in the north of the region at Essington Wood, Walsall Wood and Cannock Wood. Initially, the Primitives received a hostile reception in the Black Country. Nevertheless they became strong in the areas around Dudley and Wolverhampton.[113] This was a tendency that was recognized and praised by the Primitive Methodists at the time. The Connexional magazine in 1852 commented that

"The mining district of South Staffordshire has proved a fruitful soil for Primitive Methodism. Here are Darlaston, Dudley, Brierley Hill and West Bromwich circuits, with their numerous chapels, Sunday-school rooms and preaching-houses, clustering together, like the grapes of Eschol. Here stands Dudley in the midst with more than forty Primitive Methodist chapels within six

> miles of her lofty castle. What has the Lord wrought for this people." [114]

On the other hand, the Wesleyans in the Black Country, especially in the larger towns, had increasingly attempted to encourage more middle class and wealthy members and adherents. Leese argues that the initial success of the Methodists in the mid to late eighteenth century was due to the conversion of the poorer classes, most importantly, the miners and the small metal workers but not the ironworkers. However, Wesleyan later recruited a growing number of independent craftsmen, shopkeepers and industrial employers who had traditionally made up the congregations of the older dissenting denominations. This widened the social divisions within some Wesleyan congregations, a tendency which was cultivated by the growing prevalence of pew rents. In impressive new structures such as Darlington Street chapel in Wolverhampton, the middle class element assumed an influence disproportionate to its numerical strength which showed itself, for example, in the more restrained forms of worship and a more chapel centred ethos.[115]

A significant proportion of the members of the New Connexion in the mid-nineteenth century were also drawn from both the middle class and the artisans and shopkeepers of the Black Country. Their biggest area of support in the West Midlands was in the Potteries

centred on the Hanley circuit. Membership had been patchy in the Black Country, having been largely drawn from the mining and nailing communities.

However, in 1834, under the leadership of John Gordon, approximately 1500 discontented Wesleyans, the majority either shopkeepers or artisans, in the Dudley and Stourbridge circuits seceded to the New Connexion rather than the newly created Wesleyan Association. This was the most important factor in the development of the Connexion in the Black Country during the first half of the nineteenth century.[116]

It appears that the impact of the secession of the Wesleyan Reformers was minimal in the Black Country. Both Everitt and Dunn were frequent visitors to the Black Country after their expulsion, addressing meetings at Dudley, West Bromwich, Walsall, Tipton and Bilston in the latter part of 1849. However, there were only a few isolated examples of any activity by the Reformers in the Black Country. In 1850, some Wesleyans broke away from their chapel in Willenhall and, in the following year, almost all the staff took possession of a Sunday School in Darlaston in the name of reform. Subsequently, the Reformers built a chapel in the town.[117]

Compared with the Black Country the influence of Methodism in Birmingham was minimal. Methodist

attendances were smaller in Birmingham than in other comparable large industrial towns in the rest of the country.[118] However, the impact of the Wesleyan Reformers was much greater than in the Black Country, the only two Reforming chapels with completed returns of the 1851 Religious Census in the region being located within the boundaries of the Borough of Birmingham.[119] William Griffith, one of those expelled following the Fly Sheet scandal, had been a preacher on the Birmingham East circuit between 1838 and 1840.[120] By 1855, the Reformers had six chapels and eleven preaching rooms throughout the town.[121]

In Birmingham the dissenting threat to Anglicanism came from old dissent rather than from the Methodists. There existed a well established tradition of non-conformity, and opposition to the Established Church which stretched back to the seventeenth century. Hopkins argues that, whereas the substantial Methodist presence in the Black Country was due to the conversion of the working class, the population of Birmingham was not generally non-conformist as dissent did not go as far down the social scale. The older dissenting denominations recruited largely from the middle classes and the artisans.[122] Ram uses the Birmingham trade directories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to show that, pro-rata, dissenters were over represented in the professional, manufacturing and commercial sectors between 1750 and 1870.[123]

Dissenters, such as the Quakers, Unitarians, and Congregationalists, took an active part in the life of the town. Many were entrepreneurs including the banker, Lloyd and the gunmaker, Galton, who were Quakers, and the pinmakers, Phillipson and Ryland, who were Unitarians.[124] Non-conformity, although not welcomed by the Church of England in Birmingham, had to be accepted.

Mole credits this earlier tradition to the "free air" of the town. Prior to 1830 the Church of England in Birmingham was unpopular, ineffective and corrupt.[125] It supported the Tory party in a liberal town and maintained church rates. Moreover, in the early nineteenth century there was no resident incumbent at St Phillip's or St Martin's, the only two Anglican churches in the town.[126] There were, however, some attempts made by the Church of England to reach the town's growing industrial working class. Although evangelicalism had been initiated by some Anglican clergy in Birmingham in the late eighteenth century, it was not until after 1830 that it gained popular appeal.[127]

Compared with the Black Country, however, the popularity of organised religion in Birmingham was limited largely to those districts populated largely by the middle class and educated artisans. It is not clear, however, whether the Methodists enjoyed less

success there than in the Black Country because of the established influence of other non-conformist denominations or because Methodist evangelistic techniques made less impression on Birmingham's working class population. Indeed, Robson argues that the Birmingham non-conformists as a whole, whether old or new, either did not want or were not able to offer this brand of popular religion.[128]

On the other hand, the older dissenting denominations in the Black Country recruited from the lower classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both the Baptists at Netherton and the Independents in Sedgley, two of the oldest non-conformist congregations in the West Midlands, had a large number of working class members who, nevertheless, were able to conform to the strict social disciplines of the church. Rowlands, however, cautions against associating any form of dissent too closely with either a specific social group or with any location, since many attenders came from other parishes. The reasons for the establishment of a dissenting congregation in a particular location may have been very specific. For example, a major factor in the establishment of congregationalism in Wolverhampton and Sedgley in the late seventeenth century was the ejection of two very able and popular clergymen in 1662.[129]

Roman Catholicism was not widespread throughout the region during the mid-nineteenth century. However, there were a significant number of isolated Catholic congregations in, amongst others, Wolverhampton, Sedgley, Brewood and Birmingham.[130] These communities had generally grown and developed since the beginning of the eighteenth century, which contradicts somewhat historians such as Gilbert who argue that Catholicism in England declined throughout the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries. To them, the Catholic revival was a direct result of the large scale influx of Irish immigrants to the large industrial towns and cities in the second quarter of the nineteenth century which escalated seriously following the failure of the Irish potato crop which resulted in the famine of 1845.[131]

To be sure, this immigration did increase the number of Catholics substantially during the mid-nineteenth century, but usually, as in the case of the West Midlands, it occurred in industrial towns which had already a well established English Catholic community, most notably Birmingham and Wolverhampton. In Birmingham, it appears that the general religious freedom which bolstered non-conformity in the eighteenth century also encouraged Catholicism. Champ argues that an urban Catholic community of notable size existed in Birmingham between 1660 and 1850. Indeed, after 1780 the town's Catholic population grew at a

faster rate than the general rise in population.[132] This supports Bossy's view that there had been a gradual and continuous growth in English Catholicism throughout the eighteenth century.[133] He identifies the first half of the nineteenth century, however, as the "golden age" of the English Mission when urbanisation stimulated the growth of town missions and provided the priests with a harvest of souls.[134]

Wolverhampton had been a traditional centre of Catholicism since Elizabethan times due to the number of prominent Catholic families living either in or near to the town. After the Restoration it had become the local headquarters of the Jesuits and, during this period, it acquired the nickname of "parva Roma" (little Rome).[135] From 1804 until the mid-nineteenth century, Giffard House, built in the centre of the town in 1720, was the residence of the Vicar Apostolic, equivalent to a bishop, of the Midlands district which covered fifteen counties stretching from the Welsh border to East Anglia, thus shifting the leadership of the Catholics in Staffordshire from a small number of influential gentry families to the organised clergy with direct dependence upon Rome.[136] In 1828, the chapel was enlarged and consecrated as Ss Peter and Paul's, a testimony to the size and growing confidence of the town's Catholic population, the number of recusants having almost doubled in the previous fifty years.[137]

The Catholic community in both Wolverhampton and Birmingham, before the arrival of immigrants from Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century, was "small, respectable and predominantly English".[138] The Irish factor, therefore, appears to have been the most important reason for the growth of the anti-Catholic movement during the 1830s and 1840s, although the intensity in the movement was discontinuous and was affected greatly by conspicuous Catholic "aggression" such as the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1828, the controversy surrounding the Maynooth Grant in 1845 and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850.[139] This movement, however, appears to have been greater in Wolverhampton than in Birmingham.[140]

Both Birmingham and the Black Country were industrialised in the late eighteenth century. Historians, such as Inglis, have emphasised this process as the most important factor influencing religious attendance and provision in the first half of the nineteenth century. The consequent demographic and social changes created problems common to all religious denominations throughout the region, most significantly, the lack of provision and the maintenance of contact with the mass of people in densely populated areas. However, the local studies of the religious development of the Black Country and

Birmingham between 1800 and 1850, indicate that both religious attendance and denominational distribution differed markedly. Consequently, other factors, such as the varying success of missionary strategies in different localities and the commitment of local Church incumbents and chapel members to growth, have to be considered.

1.5 A Typology to identify the settlements within the region.

This is a regional study, which sets out to assess religious provision and attendance in the mid-nineteenth century within the region of Birmingham and the Black Country[141] and the surrounding rural area,[142] which has collectively been identified as nine Poor Law Registration Districts.[143] This region included part of the counties of Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire and the dioceses of Lichfield and Worcester. The Poor Law registration district and sub-districts have been chosen as the initial spatial unit of investigation because they were used in both the Population and the Religious Censuses of 1851.[144] Consequently, this framework has ensured that religious attendance and accommodation data corresponded exactly with established population data to calculate the most accurate Index of Attendance. Moreover, to facilitate more detailed analysis of the Census returns, eighty-seven individual and discrete settlements within the region have been identified.[145]

In order to construct a typology which classifies the different characteristics of these settlements, it has been necessary to examine briefly the economic development of the region and its settlements, especially in the period after industrialisation, from 1750 to 1850. One of the major problems with a regional analysis is the definition of the region, both

conceptually and practically. The construction of region may differ depending upon the definitional criteria used: economic; industrial; spatial; social; cultural; ecclesiastical, etc. Butlin identified the criteria of region as

> "Class, popular culture and politics, the interaction of social processes at local, national and international scales, together with such resources as land, industrial raw materials and transport systems" [146]

If this definition is applied, then in 1851, the notion of Birmingham and the Black Country as an entity was relatively new, yet in a short space of time, it had become one of the leading industrial regions in the country and of growing economic significance. In the previous hundred years there had been a dramatic increase in its industrial activity leading to a massive increase in the region's population and the size of its towns. Whereas the population of England and Wales increased over three-fold during this time, the population of Birmingham and the Black Country increased four and a half times between 1801-1861.[147] Furthermore, the character of the region's two leading towns had been totally modified. Wolverhampton was transformed from a small market town in the mid-eighteenth century into a major national industrial and commercial centre a hundred years later and up to the mid- seventeenth century Birmingham had been eclipsed by nearby Kings Norton as a trading centre.[148]

Although in 1851 the basic nature of Birmingham and the Black Country were distinct and different, the prosperity of the region over the previous hundred years can be totally explained by the increased demand for, and production of, coal and iron in the Black Country and finished metal goods in Birmingham. Since the onset of the Industrial Revolution the two places have been linked in terms of class, culture and politics because of industrial and commercial dealings, the metal trades of Birmingham being the manufacturing outlet for the coal and iron industries of the Black Country. Smith sees the Black Country as Birmingham centred, with Birmingham being the regional capital offering national and international commercial and trading outlets for the rest of the region.[149]

Coal and iron gave the Black Country its name[150] and the majority of the coal mined and the iron produced was used in the region.[151] Coal had been mined there, either in outcrops or at shallow depths, since at least the thirteenth century.[152] In the area bounded by the towns of Smethwick, Halesowen, Sedgley and Bilston, thirteen or fourteen seams of coal coalesced to form one "thick" seam, creating a unique coalfield which was not only very thick but also "visible" or "exposed". This abundance of accessible coal made the mining process very simple and highly profitable. Coal production declined in the Black Country after 1854, when the older mines were almost exhausted but were

replaced partially by new ones in districts centred on West Bromwich.[153]

The mines were usually small, with no more than seventy men per pit, and the miners were sub-contracted through the "Butty" system. Similar systems had been used in other industries in the Black Country, especially the nailing industry, and were open to abuses. Wages were paid generally in public houses usually owned by the "buttyman". Furthermore, "Tommy" shops encouraged payment in kind and the operation of credit at very high rates of interest.[154]

The deeper coal reserves of the Cannock Chase coalfield, separated from the South Staffordshire coalfield by the Great Bentley Fault near Walsall, were exploited fully only when the 10 yard "thick" seam of the Black Country became less profitable and workable through exhaustion. The mid-nineteenth century, therefore, was a period of massive industrial expansion in the area with the creation of new mining villages such as Brownhills, Great Wyrley, Pelsall and Essington on the edge of Cannock Chase.[155]

It was the fortunes of the iron industry, however, which determined the success of Black Country industries, including coalmining, limemaking, brickmaking and the production of steam engines between 1750 and 1850.[156] By 1830, Rowlands argues, the iron

masters were in control, either directly or indirectly, of the coal industry in South Staffordshire.[157] In the early eighteenth century, Abraham Darby, himself born near Dudley, had introduced a system of using coke to smelt iron at Coalbrookdale, but it was the later invention of the puddling process by Cort which freed the Black Country from it dependence on imported iron.[158] 1830 marked the zenith for the South Staffordshire iron industry when it was the leading producer of wrought iron in the country, surpassing both Shropshire and South Wales. By the 1850s, however, the national importance of the region's iron industry was falling relative to other areas. Nevertheless, it was still the biggest centre for the manufacture of high-grade wrought iron, producing approximately a third of Britain's total output.[159]

The success of Birmingham as an industrial centre did not come from an abundance of raw materials but from a large number of skilled, mostly metal, workers which drew industries to the town. There was a greater diversity of trades in Birmingham than in the Black Country, especially in the metal finishing industries, not only in iron but in non-ferrous and precious metals.[160] The biggest industries in the town were gun making; the brass and copper trades; button, buckle and pin making; and the jewellery trade. Brass was the most important and Hopkins has argued that it could be as identified with Birmingham as cotton was with

Manchester.[161] The town in the eighteenth century was not incorporated and as such was not subject to industrial regulation. As a result the industrial middle class emerged and had more influence earlier in Birmingham than in other parts of the country, most notably the Black Country where the majority of industrial ventures were financed by the aristocracy.[162]

The region, however, cannot be seen solely as the industrial districts of Birmingham and the Black Country. In the mid-nineteenth century, there was no clear distinction between urban and rural districts and many of the region's settlements, both large and small, had elements of industry and agriculture. In 1860, parts of the Black Country settlements of Sedgley and Kingswinford were predominantly agricultural, whereas agricultural settlements such as Brewood, Wombourn and Coven had large lockmaking and nailmaking populations, and iron foundries were situated in settlements such as Rushall, Pelsall and Codsall.[163]

Any examination of the economic development of Birmingham and the Black Country between 1750 and 1850 must include the surrounding rural areas, parts of which had some industry throughout the whole period. Indeed, industrial activities in these agricultural districts pre-dated the massive industrialisation of the region.[164] A significant number of the population

in the rural and semi-rural areas had been traditionally industrial workers. The nailing industry pre-dates the Industrial Revolution and was the most important industry in the Black Country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and probably the most widespread industry in the West Midlands, even occurring to the east of Birmingham in the earlier years.[165]

Between 1760 and 1830, nail shops spread into the rural villages of north Worcestershire and west Staffordshire, most significantly Bromsgrove and Wombourn.[166] It remained the largest industry until the 1830s, but the subsequent introduction of mechanisation within the nailing process forced the price of nails down and hence caused a chronic depression in the hand made trade which had dominated parts of the Black Country in the mid-nineteenth century.[167]

The agricultural areas which encircled Birmingham and the Black Country provided nearly all the food required by the growing industrial population and this, together with the additional income that these industrial activities brought, was responsible for the relatively high standard of living in these rural areas during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the west of the region.[168] The agricultural depression of the 1830s was not as severe in the West Midlands as in the rest of the country.[169]

Both Birmingham and the Black Country had initially been hindered in their development by the lack of navigable waterways.[170] Birmingham was located upon a plateau, with the nearest large river, the Tame, at Tamworth. The Black Country was located on the main watershed of England with its proximity to the country's two major rivers, the Trent and the Severn: the two river basins were separated by a series of heights including those at Sedgley, Wren's Nest, Dudley Castle and Rowley.[171]

Consequently, the mineral wealth of the Black Country and the small metal trades of Birmingham could not be fully exploited until a suitable system could be devised to transport raw materials and finished goods cheaply and easily both within this land-locked region and beyond. Road, the only regional transport system in the eighteenth century, was both inefficient and highly expensive. This situation was rectified by the building of the canals in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

In the west of the region, the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal was completed in 1772 connecting the River Severn to the Trent and Mersey Canal. The twenty-two miles stretch of the Birmingham Canal, from Wednesbury to Birmingham, was completed in 1769. It not only resulted in a dramatic fall in the price of Black

Country coal in Birmingham, but also was the main link between the two districts for the next half a century. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Birmingham Canal was the busiest in England, carrying three million tons per year, mostly coal, in 1838.[172]

Subsequently, more canals were constructed in the region and by 1817, there were two hundred miles of canals in Staffordshire chiefly for the transportation of coal and iron.[173] The introduction of the canals, therefore, enabled the region's industrialists to amass great wealth and propel Birmingham and the Black Country to the fore as an industrial region. To a large extent, the prosperity of one was dependent upon the success of the other, thus creating an integrated region.

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the development and characteristics of these two industrial districts differed quite markedly from each other. The Black Country was not dominated by any one town, not even the commercial centres of Dudley and Wolverhampton.
On the other hand, the east of the region was dominated by the town of Birmingham[174], a town of small scale employers, with relatively small capital, working in small workshops. As such the organisation of Birmingham industry differed greatly in scale from the northern factory system and even the Black Country iron industry. Throughout the region, the dominant mode of

production was the "putting-out" system, but the concentration of small domestic work units was greatest in Birmingham.[175] Furthermore, in the mid-nineteenth century, whilst Birmingham was experiencing continual growth as a centre of commerce, the staple Black Country industries, coal and iron, were fast reaching their zenith and the nailing industry was in decline. Consequently, the region's settlements were changing continuously as the economy, both national and local, was transformed.

Although a static model, any typology of the settlements within such a diverse region has to reflect the specific economic development of the agricultural, industrial and semi-industrial settlements within it. In Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural area during the mid-nineteenth century the divide between urban and rural, and industrial and agricultural were so ambiguous that a simple partition of the region into densely populated industrial settlements and sparsely populated agricultural ones has not proved sufficient. The typology has attempted to define holistically the entire range of settlements from the smallest agricultural hamlet to the largest industrial town. Eighty-seven settlements and nine categories of settlement were identified, ranging from an Agricultural Hamlet with a population of under six hundred and with a small and local economic, social and

administrative infrastructure, to a Regional Centre with over 30,000 population.

The relatively high level of industrial activity located within the smaller and more rural settlements within the region resulted in the need for three different types of village, each with populations of under 2,500 inhabitants. Five separate types of town have been distinguished, one agricultural and four industrial, each with over 2,500 inhabitants, reflecting the diverse evolution of these larger settlements. Some were already established centres before the Industrial Revolution, and of these many grew as industry grew. Those less touched by industry did not expand as quickly.

As the region's population grew massively in the first half of the nineteenth century many small towns and villages were transformed into large industrial towns with over 10,000 inhabitants. Indeed, a large proportion of the region's population lived in such settlements. However, although there were a large number of these crowded towns, they could not all be seen as the same type of town as Birmingham, Wolverhampton or Dudley. Consequently, the additional category of Regional Centre was created to indicate their special and distinctive function and character. This typology has been based upon five separate definitional criteria:[176]

(a) functional: the facilities for trade, transport, communication, administration, and political representation, at a local, regional or national level;

(b) spatial: whether it is urban or rural, in terms of population density;

(c) demographic: the level of population and its movement;

(d) economic: the nature and distribution of primary, secondary and tertiary sectors;

(e) occupational: the nature and distribution of employment.

The models used by historical geographers have concentrated on the development of settlements over time and have been, therefore, dynamic. Different criteria have been employed when categorising urban and rural, the only contact between town and countryside arising from the functional relationship of servicing.[177] A number of historians who have analysed mid-nineteenth century religious attendance and provision have attempted to categorise or classify the different places within their area of study in a static manner. Such historians as Obelkevich, however, have examined predominantly agricultural and rural parishes, and the classification has been based on the distribution of landownership.[178]

Compton appears to be the only historian to have attempted to categorise both urban and rural parishes using the same standard classification. She divided the parishes of Staffordshire into four categories:

agricultural, including both arable and pastoral farming; manufacturing; mining; and industrial, which had both mining and manufacturing, in order to measure the influence of economic factors upon the religious practice of the county.[179] This model, however, is too restrictive and more categories need to be included to recognise not only industrial but also demographic and functional factors.

By necessity this is a static typology as its function is to identify settlements as part of a snapshot analysis of religious attendance using the 1851 Religious Census as the sole source of evidence. Consequently, this specific typology can only be employed when categorising West Midlands settlements in 1851. If a different region or a different period were to be examined then separate criteria would have to be considered.

The categories are specific to the West Midlands; they do not include a port, a resort or a textile town. Moreover, consistency was not maintained totally because in some of the larger settlements, further division has been made as they consisted of a number of sub-districts. The township and registration district of Birmingham was divided into nine sub-registration districts, and both the townships of Wolverhampton and West Bromwich consisted of two sub-districts.

Inevitably, by basing the typology upon the divisions of the Poor Law registration districts, sub-registration districts and townships, there has been some standardisation of settlements. Some discrete settlements have not been identified because no population figure was given in the Report of the Census in 1851. In addition, each category of settlement may have included too many diverse settlement types. It was felt, however, that the typology would become unusable in a comparative study if too many categories were created. If each individual settlement had its own category then the construction of a typology would become a meaningless exercise.

The employment of such a typology has enabled a comprehensive regional analysis of religious attendance and provision through the examination of both industrial and agricultural settlements, but also a detailed comparison of religious attendance and provision using the smallest standardised unit of analysis. In rural and semi-rural districts especially, the parish is too multifarious to be used as the basic unit of analysis because it may include a number of discrete and identifiable settlement types. The typology has allowed identification of the largest number of settlements within the region using a standard set of criteria.

Each settlement type has been defined in order to incorporate certain criteria which have already been perceived as factors which help determine the level of religious attendance and provision. Most social and religious historians have restricted analysis of attendance and accommodation patterns to the consideration of population size, denominational distribution and the level of industrialisation. However, this methodology, which combines the strength of Obelkevich's categorisation of parishes with a more complex and flexible system of definition, has enabled such analysis in order to include settlement type as a possible determining factor of religious provision and attendance.

[1] 1851 Census Great Britain: Report and Tables on Religious Worship, England and Wales. Original Reference 1852-53 [1690] LXXXIX Religious Worship, England and Wales, HO 129 382/3/1/4.

[2] C.Y. Glock and R. Stark, American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment, (California, 1965).

[3] C.D. Field, "A Godly People? Aspects of Religious Practice in the Diocese of Oxford 1738-1938.", Southern History, VOL 14 (1992), p.47.

[4] The region has been defined as nine Poor Law districts: Wolverhampton; Walsall; Dudley; Stourbridge; West Bromwich; Penkridge; Aston; Birmingham; and Kings Norton. A full description of the region and justification of its limits can be found later in this chapter (p.44).

[5] B. Disraeli, Sybil; or The Two Nations, (London, 1845), p.170.

[6] Report from Commissioners. -Children's Employment. (Trades and Manufactures), 1842, Vol. XV -report of R.H. Horne.

[7] K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, (London, 1963), p.2.

[8] E.R. Norman, Church and Society in England 1770-1970. -A Historical Study, (Oxford, 1976), pp.54-6; W.R. Ward, "The Religion of the people and the problem of control", in C.Cuming and D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, (1972) pp.237-8.

[9] E. Royle, Radical Politics 1790-1900, Religion and Unbelief, (London, 1971), p.5.

[10] A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England, (London, 1976), pp.27-28.

[11] In Birmingham in 1834, the Church of England had seats for only one in seven of the population. See D.E.H. Mole, "The Church of England and Society in Birmingam, 1815-65" University of Birmingham, Ph.D Thesis (1972), p.37.

[12] Inglis, op. cit., pp.23-25; S. Meacham, "The Church in the Victorian city", Victorian Studies, Vol.II (1968), p.369.

[13] Norman, op. cit., pp.90-91. Roberts argues, however,

that the level of non-residency was reducing throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, from 42% in 1810 to 15.5% in 1850. M.V.D. Roberts, "Private patronage and the Church of England", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL XXXII (1981), p.206.

14 For further details, see case studies of Sedgley and Wolverhampton in chapter three.

15 Royle, "Radical Politics", op. cit., pp.7-8; Mole, op. cit., pp.100-102.

16 Gilbert, op. cit., p.7; H. McLeod, Religion and the Working Class in nineteenth century Britain, (London, 1984), p.17; J. Cox, The English Churches in a Secular Society, (Oxford, 1972), pp.1-3.

17 Gilbert, op. cit., p.28.

18 R. Gill, The Myth of the Empty Church (London, 1993), p.17.

19 Gilbert, op. cit., p.131; Inglis, op. cit., p.46.

20 Cox, op. cit., p.5.

21 Inglis, op. cit., pp.6-7.

22 ibid, pp.128-130.

23 Norman, op. cit., p.124.

24 Gill, op. cit., pp.35-119.

25 M.R. Watts, The Dissenters, (Oxford, 1978), pp.225-6.

26 H.A. May, Queen Street Congregational Church, Wolverhampton. The Story of a Hundred Years (1809-1909), (Wolverhampton, 1909), p.1; J.S. Roper, A History of Coseley, (Dudley, 1976), pp.51-52.

27 G.M. Trevelyn, Blenheim: England under Queen Anne, (London, 1930) pp.199-200.

28 Gilbert, op. cit., pp.8-11.

29 E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (London, 1963), pp.48-50.

30 J.T. Wilkinson, "The Rise of Other Traditions." from R. Davies, A.R. George and G. Rupp, A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, (Vol. II), (London, 1978), pp.280-285.

[31] ibid., pp.288-290; Walsh argues that the expulsion of Kilham and the subsequent formation of the New Connexion were not dramatic events in Methodist history. J. Walsh "Methodism at the end of the eighteenth century" from R. Davies and G. Rupp, A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, (Vol. I), (London, 1965) pp.288-89.

[32] Wilkinson, op. cit., pp.293-94.

[33] ibid., pp.311-13.

[34] ibid, pp.304-13; R. Leese, "The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society 1742-1860", Ph.D Thesis, University of Manchester (1972), pp.226-63.

[35] Gilbert, op. cit., pp.154-155; Mcleod, op. cit., p.51.

[36] By 1838, 26,521 members and 663 chapels and preaching places. O.A. Beckerlegge, The United Methodist Free Churches, (London, 1957), pp.16-25; Wilkinson, op. cit., pp.314-318.

[37] By 1849, thirty-six ministers, including Everitt, Griffith and Dunn, had not signed the declaration and these three were expelled from the Connexion despite their long years of service. The three men addressed some 140 meetings across the country throughout 1850 which were attended by 170,000 people. Beckerlegge, op. cit., pp.30-37; R. Leese, "The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society 1742-1860", Ph.D Thesis, University of Manchester (1972), pp.214-220. Wilkinson, op. cit., pp.318-322.

[38] Nationally, the 1851 Religious Census showed that the 339 places of worship belonging to the Wesleyan Reformers had 91,503 attendances throughout Census Sunday, the highest attendance being in the evening with 44,953. See Mann, op. cit., pp.34-35.

[39] Gilbert, op. cit., pp.30-32. See also J. Kent, "The Wesleyan Methodists to 1849", in Davies, George and Rupp, op. cit., p 214; Wilkinson, op. cit., p.321. When the Wesleyan Reformers joined with the Wesleyan Association to form the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857, the combined membership was 39,968 of which 19,113 were Reformers. Wilkinson, op. cit., p.322. The most significant contribution the Reformers made to the new joint venture was not in members but in the supply of places of worship. Of the 763 chapels of The United Methodist Free Churches, 500 had previously belonged to them.

[40] R. Currie, K. Gilbert and L. Horsley, Church and Church-goers in the British Isles since 1700, (Oxford, 1977), p.27.

[41] Ward, op. cit., pp.247-252.

[42] R.B. Walker, "The Growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Victorian England and Wales", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, (1973), pp.269-275.

[43] Inglis, op. cit., p.9.

[44] Watts, op. cit., p.407.

[45] Gilbert, op. cit., p.89.

[46] ibid., pp.63-65; Inglis, op. cit., p.105.

[47] H.A. May, Queen Street Congregational Church, Wolverhampton. The Story of a Hundred Years (1809-1909), (Wolverhampton, 1909), pp.106-110.

[48] F.W. Hackwood, Sedgley Researches, (Dudley, 1898) p.84; J.S. Roper, A History of Coseley, (Dudley, 1976) p.83; L.B. Taylor, Notes on Coseley, (Unpublished, C.R.O.).

[49] R. Tudor-Jones, Congregationalism in England, (London, 1962), pp.152-162.

[50] A.G. Cumberland, "Protestant Nonconformity in the Black Country 1662-1851" M.A. Dissertation, University of Birmingham (1951), pp.156-7.

[51] In 1829 an incomplete census of religious worship was carried out to discover the number of non-Anglican places of worship. It was undertaken at a parish level, the returns being filled in by the parish constable. The findings were presented to Parliament on 21 May 1830 but apparently were later lost in a fire in 1834. See R.W. Ambler, "A Lost Source? The 1829 returns of non-Anglican places of worship", Local Historian, VOL 16 (1987); and E.M. Tranter, "Many and Diverse Dissenters. The 1829 Religious Returns for Derbyshire", Local Historian, VOL 18 (1988).

[52] See the Census of Great Britain, 1851; Religious Worship- England and Wales, Parliamentary Papers 1852-3, vol 89. The original returns for each separate place of worship are now kept in the Public Records Office, Kew HO 129. The results for Scotland were published in 1854, but the returns for that country no longer exist.

[53] See for example, K.S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL 11 (1960), pp.76-86; W.S.F. Pickering, "The 1851 Religious Census -A Useless Experiment?", British Journal of Sociology, VOL XVIII (1967), pp.387-407; D.M. Thompson, "The Religious Census of 1851, Problems and Possibilities", Victorian Studies, VOL XI (Sept 1967), pp.87-97.

[54] Pickering, op. cit., p.385.

[55] W.T.R. Pryce, "The Census as a Major Source for the Study of Flintshire Society in the Nineteenth Century", Flintshire Historical Society Publications, VOL XXVI (1973-4), p.116.

[56] For levels of missing returns see local studies on the census, including H. Burrows, "Religious provision and attendance in mid-nineteenth century Shropshire" M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1983); R.W. Ambler, "Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851", Lincolnshire Records Society, vol 72 (1979); D.W. Bushby (ed), The Bedfordshire Ecclesiastical Census of 1851, (Bedford, 1985); K. Tiller (ed), Church and Chapel in Oxfordshire, 1851: The Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, (Oxford, 1987); M. Watts (ed), Religion and Victorian Nottinghamshire. The Religious Census of 1851, vols. 1&2 (Nottingham, 1988).

[57] Pickering, op. cit., p.385.

[58] See original schedules at the P.R.O. HO 129 and the appendix to I.G. Jones, The Religious Census of 1851 -A Calendar of the Returns relating to Wales, and D.M. Thompson, "The Religious Census of 1851", in R. Lawton (ed) The Census and Social Structure (London, 1978) Appendix VII p.269.

[59] See Pickering, op. cit., pp.389-90; Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship", op.cit., p.75. For examples of different counting methods used by incumbents in the West Midlands, see HO 129 394/5/1/1 and 378/3/5/2.

[60] Watts, op. cit., p.xi. Mann, in H. Mann, "On the statistical position of the Religious Bodies in England and Wales", Journal of the Statistical Society, VOL. XVII (1855), pp. 141-159, defended his staff from claims of both incompetence and denominational bias. Ambler op. cit. p.xxii even suggests that some Anglican ministers did not trust the local enumerators, accusing them of being dissenters, and sent their schedules direct to Horace Mann.

[61] Tiller, op. cit., p.xvi.

[62] There were seven local Anglican incumbents who refused to give attendance figures because of their opposition to the Census. They were those of:
378/3/5/2 St Luke's, Cannock;
378/3/7/11 St Mary's, Great Wyrley;
379/5/1/1 St Peter's Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton;
379/5/1/3 St Mary's, Wolverhampton;
381/4/1/2 All Saints, West Bromwich;
382/3/1/2 St Peter's, Upper Gornal;
383/3/1/7 St Mark's, Pensnett.
The Rector of St George's, Birmingham (394/8/1/1) did not answer the questions on finance as he understood that they were not required. The perpetual curate at All Saints parish church, West Bromwich, answered only the questions on accommodation, refusing to disclose information concerning attendance or finance unless instructed to by his bishop.

[63] For the numerous examples of "Mothering Sunday" diminishing congregations in the Black Country, see Schedules HO 129 378-383.

[64] Watts, op. cit., p.x.

[65] See for example: M.Drake, "The Census 1801-1901", in E.A. Wrigley, Essays in the use of quantitative methods in the study of social data., p.6; Pickering, op. cit., p.386; Tiller, op. cit., p.xviii; Thompson, in Lawton, op. cit., p.247. Field, op. cit., p.67 compares the Oxfordshire returns with Archbishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the diocese of Oxford to confirm the accuracy of the Census.

[66] See E. Royle, The Victorian Church in York, (York, 1983) p.3.

[67] See Watts, op. cit., p.xii and R. Mudie-Smith, The Religious Life of London, (London, 1904).

[68] H. McLeod, "Class, Community and Religion: The Religious Geography of nineteenth century England", in M. Hill (ed), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, (1977).

[69] See "Report on the Census of Religious Worship", op. cit; Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship", op. cit.; B.I. Coleman, The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century: A Social Geography, (London, 1980), p.7.

[70] Tiller, op. cit., pp.xvi-xviii; Thompson, in Lawton,

op. cit., pp.244-245.

[71] Mann, op.cit., p.142 argued that a religious question on the population census would have been far too inquisitorial to be adopted in England.

[72] Drake, op. cit., pp.13-15.

[73] Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", op. cit., pp.74-86.

[74] See Darlington Street Methodist Church Building: Diamond Jubilee, (1961), Wolverhampton Public Library; Children's Employment Commission., Appendix to the first Report of Commissions -Mines, p.71.

[75] Pickering, op. cit., p.393. Jones "Morgannwg", op. cit., pp.67-96 argued that, for Swansea, the incidence of multiple service was higher in urban rather than rural areas.

[76] One solution to this problem is to give weighting to those places of worship with more than one service on Census Sunday, i.e. where there are two or three services, to calculate the Index of Attendance by dividing the total number of attendances by either two or three hundred. However, unless the attendance at the second and third services was identical to that of the first, this Index of Attendance would always be less than Pickering's minimum. Therefore, the number of individual attenders would inevitably be underestimated if the Index of Attendance was calculated in this manner.

[77] See Mann, op. cit., pp.141-158. He was very reluctant to estimate the number of individual attenders and only agreed after great pressure from concerned bodies interested in ascertaining the performance of their respective denominations. Both Pickering op. cit. p.390 and Thompson "The Religious Census of 1851, Problems and Possibilities" op. cit. pp.87-97, criticised Mann for assuming that churches were open three times a day, in the morning, afternoon and evening, and for not taking into account multiple morning services. Thompson, ibid pp.91-92, adds that those who opened only once were more likely to be open in the afternoon or evening. T.Shaw, The Pastoral Crook: A state of religion in the diocese of Exeter in the mid-nineteenth century, (Cornwall, 1970); Watts, op. cit., p.xi-xiii.

[78] There is little evidence from the region's Census returns of individual attendance and the propensity of "twicers" and "thricers". What evidence there is, does

not support any of the formulae. There were a few remarks concerning the composition of the congregation, but these cannot be seen as the norm for the region because the inclusion of the remark would suggest that the pattern was somewhat unusual and, therefore, in need of comment or explanation. The people attending the afternoon service at St Peter's, Walsall were said to be totally different from the morning (HO 129 380/3/1/2); Because the congregation was counted each Sunday, the services at St Peter's, Harbourn could be monitored and it was found that the congregations were entirely different (HO 129 393/3/1/1). At the parish church of Birmingham, "The morning and afternoon congregations are entirely made up of different people, the evening half strangers." (HO 129 394/5/1/1)

[79] It may be more appropriate to represent the Index of Attendance not as a singular figure but as a range determined by Pickering's minimum and Inglis' maximum. However, in order to analyse attendance level using such ranges would require a new and far more problematic methodology. On the other hand, the Index of Attendance could be determined by the mid-point between the maximum and the minimum. However, this estimation would have as little validity as any of the other formulae, because it too was not based upon empirical evidence.

[80] Burrows, op. cit., pp.65-68; T.W. Lacqueur, Religion and Respectability -Sunday School and Working Class Culture 1750-1850, (New Haven Connecticut, 1976), p.59.

[81] K.D. Snell, Church and Chapel in the North Midlands: Religious Observance in the nineteenth century, (Leicester, 1991), pp.17-18. To achieve this he calculated "The denomination specific co-efficient of relative variation" for the calculated sittings and attendance by determining the denomination's standard deviation as a percentage of the mean. By this method the geographic spread for each denomination relative to its own strength can be measured.; C.G. Brown, "Did Urbanisation secularize Britain", in The Urban History Yearbook (Leicester, 1988) pp.1-13.

[82] P.S. Ell, "A Quantitative Analysis of Variables allegedly influencing the Pattern of Religious Observance in 1851: A Case Study, Warwickshire", M.A. Dissertation, University of Leicester (1989), p.75; J. Compton, "The Pattern of Dissent in Staffordshire in 1851", M.A. Dissertation, University of Leicester (1989), pp.29-30. It could be argued, however, that it is not necessary to use linear regression to show that the Methodists had their greatest support in those Staffordshire parishes which had been neglected by the

Anglicans, especially in the Black Country. More revealing was her study of the interchangeable nature of the various Methodist connexions, using linear regression. This interchangeability was neither constant nor as strong as had been previously thought.

[83] B.I. Coleman, The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century: A Social Geography, (London, 1980); I.G. Jones, "Denominationalism in Swansea and District", op. cit., pp.76-96, argued that for Swansea the correlation was high, any deviation was caused by the number of services held on Sunday.

[84] Burrows, op. cit.; Snell, op. cit.; Coleman, op. cit.; J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England, (London, 1971); B.I. Coleman, "Southern England in the Census of Religious Worship", Southern History, VOL 5 (1983), pp.154-187; G. Robson, "Between Town and Countryside: Contrasting patterns of churchgoing in the Black Country", in D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp.401-415; Compton, op. cit..

[85] Coleman, "The Church of England", op. cit., pp.7-17; Gay, op. cit., pp.145-147. Pre-Industrial parishes in the South averaged 2500 acres whereas those in the North and the Borders could be over 10,000 acres. The major problem facing the Established Church was to maintain a functioning parochial system in the face of the revolutionary demographic changes occurring around it.

[86] For examples of local studies, see D.C. Dews, "The Ecclesiastical Returns, 1851. A Study of Methodist Attendance in Leeds", Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, VOL XXXIX (1973-74), pp.113-116; Shaw, op. cit.; D.Williams, "The Census of Religious Worship in Cardiganshire", Caredigan, VOL 4 (1961).

[87] See G. Robson, "Methodists and the 1851 Census of Religious Worship in Birmingham and the Black Country", Wesley Historical Society, West Midlands Branch Bulletin, VOL II (1975), pp.94-99 for the details about Sedgley.

[88] Coleman, "Southern England in the Census of Religious Worship", op. cit. pp.154-187; Snell, op. cit., p.8.

[89] Burrows, op. cit., p.88.

[90] Such historians include Ambler, op. cit.; Burrows, op. cit.; Jones, op. cit.; J. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, South Lindsey 1825-75, (Oxford, 1976);

A. Everitt, "Nonconformity in Country Parishes", Agricultural History Review Supplement, VOL XVIII (1970), pp.178-199; E. Hopkins, "Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages in the first half of the nineteenth century", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL XXXIV (1983), pp.411-424.

91 Everitt, op. cit., pp.189-192; Jones, op. cit., p.76.

92 Tiller, op. cit., p.xxxiii.

93 See, Ambler op. cit.; S. Banks, "Nineteenth century scandal or twentieth century model? A New look at 'open' and 'close' parishes", Economic History Review, VOL XXXXI (1988), pp.51-74; B.A. Holderness, "'Open' and 'close' Parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries", Agricultural History Review, VOL XX (1972), pp.126-140; D.R. Mills, "English Villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: A sociological approach", Amateur Historian, VOL VI (1965), pp.271-278; Obelkevich, op.cit.; Thompson, "The Church and Society", op. cit..

94 Obelkevich, op. cit., p.12, the types are:
(a) the squire's parish -totally closed.
(b) the oligarchic parish - a few landlords but none owned more than 50% of the land.
(c) the freehold parish -smallholders with less than forty acres.
(d) the divided parish - a mixture of (b) and (c).

95 Obelkevich, op. cit. pp.12-15; Ambler, op. cit. p.xx. The definition of "open" and "close" parishes and its usefulness has been questioned in recent years because they were terms which arose in the mid-nineteenth century to distinguish the attitudes of the landowners. For political and economic reasons it may have been preferable to label the parish as either "open" or "close" when it was not. See S. Banks, op. cit. Holderness, op. cit..

96 D.M. Thompson, "The Church and Society in nineteenth century England", in D. Baker and G. Cuming op. cit., pp.272-273.

97 Gilbert, op. cit., p.112; Everitt, op. cit., pp.194-195; Hopkins, op. cit..

98 D.R. Mills, Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain, (1980), pp.206-208.

99 M. Rowlands, The West Midlands from AD 1000, (New York, 1987), p.198.

[100] W.F. Vance, Sermons with a Voice from the Mines and Furnaces, (Wolverhampton, 1853), p.xii.

[101] Cumberland, op. cit., pp. 20-45.

[102] J.D. Walters, "The Impact of Anglican Evangelicalism on the Religious Life of Wolverhampton" M.Phil Thesis, CNAA (1983); J.D. Walters, Charles Girdlestone and the Duties of the Rich to the Poor, (Wolverhampton, 1973).

[103] N. Flavell, "Black Country Anglicanism 1772-1835" M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1987), p.43; pp.59-75.

[104] I. Powick, "Religion and Society in Early Victorian Stourbridge", M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1989), Abstract.

[105] Robson, "Methodists and the 1851 Census of Religious Worship in Birmingham and the Black Country", op. cit, pp.94-96.

[106] Gill, op. cit., pp.105-107.

[107] C. Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, (London, 1987), pp.81-82. This pattern emerges largely as a result of low attendance levels in the rural counties.

[108] Hopkins, op. cit., pp.420.

[109] G.J. Barnsby, Social Conditions in the Black Country 1800-1900, (Wolverhampton, 1980), pp.9-10. He further argues that the vast majority of the Black Country migrants were not agricultural but industrial workers from semi-rural areas.

[110] G. Robson, "The failures and successes: Working Class Evangelism in early Victorian Birmingham", in D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL XV (1975), p.390.

[111] Burrows, op. cit., pp.75-76.

[112] K.S. Inglis, op. cit., pp.9-11.

[113] Leese, op. cit., pp.231-239.

[114] The Primitive Methodist Magazine, VOL XXXIII Jan. 1852, p.52.

[115] Leese, op. cit., pp.94-135.

[116] ibid, pp.182-201; Rowlands, op. cit., p.199; E.A.

Rose "The Methodist New Connexion 1797-1807", Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol 47 (Oct 1990), p.247.

117 Leese, op. cit., pp.221-224.

118 See returns of 1851 Religious Census for Birmingham, HO 129 394; and Mole, "Thesis", op. cit., p.47.

119 See returns of 1851 Religious Census for Birmingham and Aston, HO 129 394/2/1/6 and HO 129 395/2/1. Their was also a chapel in Birmingham belonging to the Wesleyan Methodist Association, HO 129 394/7/1.In addition, the congregation of the Wesleyan chapel at Belmont Road fell by two-thirds as a consequence of the secession in 1849. The Victorian County History of Warwickshire, Volume VII, (London, 1975), p.423.

120 D.A. Barton, "William Griffith (1806-83): The 'Hercules of the Reform Movement'", Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol 43 (Dec 1992), p.166. Another reason for the Reformers' greater presence in Birmingham compared with the rest of the region was the success of James Caughey, the American evangelist, in attracting new converts to the Wesleyans in the mid-1840's. Kent argues that the authors of the Fly Sheets were very sympathetic to Caughey's more radical ideas concerning growth. Birmingham was only second to Sheffield in the number of alleged evangelical conversions he made at his meetings. Kent, op. cit., pp.234-235. For an account of the challenge Caughey's ideas and deeds had on the Wesleyan establishment, see C.H. Goodwin "James Caughey's challenge to Wesleyan Concepts of Ministry and Church Growth: 1841-1846", Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol 49 (May 1994), pp.141-151.

121 W.H. Dix & Co, General and Commercial Directory of Birmingham, (Birmingham, 1858), p.6. By 1892, however, there were only three Reforming chapels in the town. Kelly's, Post Office Directory of Birmingham with Staffordshire and Worcestershire, (London, 1892), p.8; S. Fowler (ed), Digbeth and Deritend (1820-1987), (Birmingham Public Library, 1987), pp.74-76.

122 E. Hopkins Birmingham -The First Manufacturing town in the World (1760-1840), (London, 1989), p.163.

123 R.W. Ram, "Influences on the Patterns of Belief and Social Action among Birmingham Dissenters between 1750 and 1870", in Religion in the Birmingham area. Essays in the Sociology of Religion, (University of Birmingham), pp.29-45.

[124] Hopkins, "Birmingham -The First Manufacturing town in the World (1760-1840)", op. cit., p.101.

[125] Mole, "Thesis" op. cit., p.8. Often in the town the churchmen were on the defensive and the dissenters were on the attack.

[126] E. Hopkins, "Birmingham -The First Manufacturing town in the World (1760-1840)", op. cit., p.149.

[127] Mole, "Thesis", op. cit.; D.E.H. Mole, "Attitudes of Churchmen towards society in Early Victorian Birmingham", in "Religion in the Birmingham area", op. cit., pp.3-12; D.E.H. Mole, "Challenge to the Church in Birmingham 1815-1865", in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolf (ed), The Victorian City (1973).

[128] Robson, "Between Town and Countryside", op.cit., p.390.

[129] May, op. cit., p.1; Roper, op. cit., pp.51-52; Rowlands, op. cit., pp.196-197.

[130] Rowlands, op. cit., p.197.

[131] Gilbert, op. cit., pp.45-47; E.R. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, (Oxford, 1984), p.208.

[132] J. Champ, "Assimilation and Separation, the Catholic revival in Birmingham 1650-1850", University of Birmingham, Ph.D (1984), pp.3-18.

[133] J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, (London, 1976), p.297.

[134] ibid, p.316.

[135] J. Quirke, "The Development of the Roman Catholic Community in Wolverhampton (1828-67)", M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1983) p.6.

[136] M. Rowlands, "Catholics in Staffordshire from the Revolution to the Relief Acts, 1688-1791", M.A. Thesis, University of Birmingham (1965), p.17.

[137] M. Rowlands, Ss Peter and Paul's Church Wolverhampton 1692-1975, (Wolverhampton, 1975).

[138] Quirke, op. cit., p.24.

[139] See R.E. Swift, "Crime and Ethnicity: The Irish in Early Victorian Wolverhampton", West Midlands Studies,

Vol 13 (1980), pp.1-12, for a discussion of the tensions which were generated by the Irish presence in Wolverhampton. The intensity of the anti-Catholic feelings amongst the Anglican authorities in the town is plainly shown in the pages of the Wolverhampton Chronicle throughout the first half of 1851. The debate over Catholic aggression was included most weeks, yet there was no mention of the results of the Religious Census carried out in March.

140 Champ, op. cit., p.253.

141 Various definitions of the Black Country can be found, including Cumberland op. cit. pp.1-2; T.J. Raybould, The Economic Emergence of the Black Country, (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp.9-10. Barnsby, op. cit., p.1; G.C Allen, The Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country 1860-1927, (London, 1966), p.7: a problem arises, however, with certain towns historically part of the Black Country not included in the five registration districts, e.g. Smethwick.

142 It was thought better to use this purely descriptive term rather than "rural hinterland". There is no suitable definition of the rural hinterland of either a town or a region. It has been defined as the "back country", specifically, the area lying behind a port or a coast, or the fringe area of a town, hardly definitions which could apply to the hinterland of an inland region such as Birmingham and the Black Country. Dudley Stamp (L. Dudley Stamp, A Glossary of Geographic Terms, (1961), p.245) gave a relational definition with reference to a central point in which goods and people move by means of sea, river, rail and road: "The region to and from which this movement is directed is commonly and somewhat vaguely described as the hinterland". These definitions are vague and unhelpful; the only definition is a negative one; that is, the hinterland is that part of a region which is not the central place. It can only be located by the movement of goods and people, and can only be defined as the sphere of influence of a central place in terms of trade and culture. For the needs of this study the rural hinterland of Birmingham and the Black Country has been defined in two ways: as those rural and semi-rural areas which firstly, lay within the traditional commercial and cultural influence of the towns of the region, because of the existence of a market, local administration and ecclesiastical or social facilities; and secondly, supplied labour to the industrial towns and villages of the region.

143 Those of:
Penkridge, inc. the sub-districts of Brewood and

Cannock;
Wolverhampton, inc. Tettenhall, Pennfields, Wombourn, Willenhall and Bilston;
Walsall, inc. Darlaston, Bloxwich and Aldridge;
West Bromwich, inc. Handsworth, Oldbury and Wednesbury;
Dudley, inc. Tipton, Sedgley and Rowley Regis;
Stourbridge, inc. Halesowen, and Kingswinford;
King's Norton, inc. Edgbaston and Harbourn;
Aston, inc. Deritend and Bordesley, Duddeston and Sutton Coldfield and
Birmingham.

144 That is the boundaries of Poor Law Unions, including Poor Law registration districts, sub-registration districts and the parishes, townships or place within. See T.W. Freeman, "Boroughs in England and Wales of the 1830's", in R.P. Beckinsale and J.A. Houston, Urbanisation and its problems. Essays in honour of E.W. Gilbert, (1968), pp.70-91. Freeman sees the new boundaries of the Poor Law districts as logical and functional, each union comprising a market town and the rural parishes from which it drew its trade. Pryce, op. cit. p.128, argues the formation of the rural sub-districts reflected the local need for a central place for the servicing of a hinterland as well as forming an administrative district of the new Poor Law.

145 A list of these settlements with their allocated type can be found in Appendix 1, pp.322-325.
In order to calculate the most accurate Index of Attendances (IA) possible, the settlements within the region were identified by applying the same partition of the counties as used in both the Population and Religious Censuses of 1851. Such precision was more crucial in this study rather than in previous ones because of the small units of investigation which were to be utilised. Both the population and attendance of each settlement, especially those with fewer inhabitants, had to correspond exactly because any mistake would seriously distort the Index of Attendance.

146 R.A. Butlin "Regions in England and Wales c1600-1914", in R.A Butlin and R.A. Dodgshon (eds), A Historical Geography of England and Wales, (London, 1990), p.251. For a discussion on the theoretical problems of using regional analysis see E.W. Gilbert, "The idea of the region", Geography, VOL XXXXV (1960); J.D. Marshall, "Why study Regions (1)", Journal of Regional and Local Studies, (1985), pp.15-27; J.D. Marshall, "Why study Regions (2)", Journal of Local and Regional Studies (1986), pp.1-12.

147 Allen, op. cit., p.12. See also the Report of the Population Census 1851 pp.66-79. The population of the three major towns of the region, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Dudley grew between three and four times in the first half of the nineteenth century. The growth of the smaller industrial towns was even higher: Bilston over five times; Tipton nearly six times; and West Bromwich almost seven.

148 J.N Havins, A Portrait of Worcestershire, (London, 1974), p.111.

149 D. Smith, Conflict and Compromise. Class formation in English Society 1830-1914, (London, 1982), pp.27-32.

150 Barnsby, op. cit., p.1, identifies the Black Country as the limits of the South Staffordshire coalfield,"the area developed on the remarkable ten-yard seam of coal."

151 W.H.B. Court, The Rise of the Midland Industries 1600-1838, (London, 1938), p.165.

152 H. Parsons, A Portrait of the Black Country, (London, 1986), p.28.

153 It reached an annual peak of seven and a half million tons which was nine times higher than production in 1800. Barnsby, op. cit., p.239.

154 ibid, p.24; Allen, op. cit., p.7.

155 M.J. Wise, "The Cannock Chase Region" in Birmingham and its Regional Setting. A Scientific Survey, (Birmingham, 1950), pp.275-278. Although shallow mines and outcrops had been worked since the middle ages, the town of Cannock in the mid-nineteenth century was essentially a market centre for the surrounding agricultural area which had hardly been affected by the exploitation of the coalfield.

156 Allen, op. cit., p.191.

157 Rowlands, "The West Midlands", op. cit., p.247.

158 Allen, op. cit., p.21. This smelting process was reputed to have been introduced in the Black Country by Dud Dudley, the bastard son of the Earl of Dudley, a hundred years earlier than Darby. However, if the process was known, then it died with Dudley.

159 Allen, op. cit., p.40. Although the Black Country's share had dropped since the 1830's, pig-iron production

reached an annual peak of 743,000 tons in 1854 at the beginning of the Crimean War. This compares with 4,500 tons in 1788, Raybould op. cit. p.11.

160 By the 1840's there were as many as 97 different trades and 2,100 different employers. Allen, op. cit., pp.16-17. Some trades, including pewter from Bewdley, pan making and edged tools from Worcestershire and glass, migrated into the town.

161 Hopkins, op. cit., p.44.

162 Allen, op. cit., pp.26-27.

163 Allen, op. cit., pp.10-11. In the east of the region also, there were settlements, including Kings Norton, Northfield, Harbourn and Sutton Coldfield, which, although could be identified as either agricultural or industrial, had more of a mixed economy.

164 In 1735 there had been forges at Brewood, slitting mills near Kinver. Court, op. cit., p.183; Ironmaking had been carried out at Wombourn since the late sixteenth century and in 1851 there were 242 nail workers in the village. The Victoria County History of Staffordshire, Vol XX (London, 1970), p.214.

165 Court, op. cit., p.193; In 1579 a third of the people named in Black Country parish registers were nailers. Skipp, op. cit., p.199.

166 Rowlands, "The West Midlands", op. cit., p.245; Havins, op. cit., p.113.

167 Allen, op. cit., p.39. In the 1830's, a reported 50,000 were involved in nailing in south Staffordshire and Worcestershire.

168 VCH, op. cit., p.183.

169 The "Captain Swing" riots did not affect the region, only isolated incidents of violence were reported including one in Himley. E. Richards, "Captain Swing and the West Midlands", International Review of Social History, VOL. XIX 1974.

170 The Stour was made navigable up to Stourbridge, on the extreme west of the region, in the 1660's. See Rowlands, "The West Midlands", op. cit., p.261.

171 Allen, op. cit., p.5. These unusual geological features resulted in the copious amounts of minerals found around Dudley.

[172] Rowlands, op. cit., p.233; Court, op. cit., p.165.

[173] Including the Stourbridge Canal, opened in 1781 to link the southern part of the Black Country to Stourport and other towns on the River Severn, ultimately rendering access to the international trade routes serviced by the Bristol docks. The Earl of Dudley's mines to the east of the ridge, at Wren's Nest, were connected to the Birmingham Canal by the Dudley Canal in 1779. The Wyrley and Essington Canal was opened in 1795 to link the coalfield around Walsall, and the Cannock Chase coalfield, to Birmingham and beyond. C. Hadfield, The Canals of the West Midlands, (Newton Abbot, 1966), pp.73-97.

[174] In 1851, in addition to the township of Birmingham, the Borough of Birmingham consisted of the townships of Deritend, Bordesley and Aston. See "Report of the Population Census 1851", p.79. Furthermore, the reason for the great increases in population of the parishes of Edgbaston and Aston is given as their proximity to Birmingham.

[175] See E. Hopkins, "Working Hours and Conditions during the Industrial Revolution: A Re-appraisal", Economic History Review, VOL 35 (Feb. 1982).

[176] A more comprehensive and fuller description of the criteria used in the identification of the region's settlements as a type can be found in Appendix 2 pp.326-330.

[177] See H. Bracey, "Towns as Rural Service Centres", Transactions and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers ,(1953), pp.95-105; H. Carter, "The Urban Hierarchy and Historical Geography: A Consideration with reference to North East Wales", Geographical Studies, VOL III (1965), constructed a dynamic model of towns identifying five separate types; the metropoles; the suburban settlement; the resort; the mining and manufacturing centre; and the market town.

[178] J. Obelkevich, op. cit.; Mills, op. cit.; Banks op. cit..

[179] Compton, op. cit., p.23.

CHAPTER TWO

A REGIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF THE 1851 RELIGIOUS CENSUS

2.1 Introduction

The region of "Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural area" has been identified as nine Poor Law Registration districts. The returns for the nine registration districts[1] were entered onto two databases, one for the Church of England and one for other denominations, using the FOXPRO database software. Each return represented a separate place of worship and became an individual record on the database. This process was made simpler by the design of the original schedule in 1851. Each question on the schedule was assigned a field without any editing of the original returns.

Some editing has been performed but only if no other alternative was available, thus maintaining as far as possible the integrity of the original document. However, to standardise the data for computer analysis, some alterations have been made including the correction of spelling mistakes on the original schedules. Approximate numbers of attenders or sittings have been regarded as actual figures. Where no accommodation figures existed, attendance figures for the highest individual service were used because they represented the minimum possible sittings.[2] The average attendance over the previous twelve months has been used in those places of worship with no attendance figures for the 30 March 1851.[3] Nevertheless there were

still a very few places of worship, less than 2% of the whole sample, which did not have attendance figures for 30 March 1851 or for the previous year.[4] In these cases no attendance has been entered. This has necessarily deflated attendance figures, causing distortion when attendances have been compared either through denomination or geographic distribution. However, it was felt that this approach was preferred in the initial regional analysis to one where attendances would have been estimated using statistics from outside the Religious Census.

Attendance could have been estimated by assessing the attendance levels of each denomination within the same area, either at a registration or sub-registration district level. Each place of worship without attendance figures could then have been assigned an estimated attendance based upon the available sittings. Attendance could also have been derived by using membership or baptism records and calculating the proportion of members or baptisms to the congregation for each denomination in a given area.

However, both formulae assume that patterns of attendance were uniform for a denomination throughout the district or sub-district, an unproven hypothesis which is to be tested in this thesis. To maintain consistency, therefore, only attendance figures which appeared in the Religious Census have been used in the

initial investigation of the whole region. In the case studies, however, when a smaller sample are analysed and there is less of a need for overall consistency, it has been possible to estimate attendance at individual places of worship using localised information concerning membership, churchgoing habits and social relations.[5]

The levels of attendance and accommodation have been calculated using Inglis' Index of Attendance (IA) and Jones' Index of Accommodation (IAcc) models and the relative performance, in terms of attendance, of each denomination was assessed using Coleman's Percentage Share (PS) model.[6] Only Inglis and Pickering have devised formulae to estimate individual attendance based solely on the figures given in the Census returns without recourse to further abstraction. However, using Pickering's formula of the highest attended service would distort the results too much in favour of those denominations and settlements where it was more usual for only one service to be held on a Sunday.

Each denomination has been considered in turn initially at registration district level but ultimately at a settlement level with reference to the settlement typology. By this process it has been possible to compare and contrast the region's religious attendance and accommodation patterns with reference to district, denomination and settlement type.

2.2. Regional patterns of Religious Attendance and Accommodation in 1851.

The total population of the nine registration districts identified as the region of Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural area was 666,667 in March 1851[7] and the total regional church and chapel attendance was 314,745 giving an overall IA of 47.21.[8] Therefore, even when individual attendance is represented by the sum of morning, afternoon and evening services, still less than half the region's population attended a place of worship on Census Sunday.

This attendance level was far less than the IA of 61 which Inglis arrived at for the whole of England and Wales[9], even though a number of the registration districts were rural or semi-rural and hence places where historians such as Inglis, would have expected higher than average IAs. The overall IA for the region was closer to Inglis' average of 49.7 for large towns with over 10,000 inhabitants. This is hardly surprising as nearly 80% of the region's population lived in this type of town.

However, those rural districts with the highest number of exclusively agricultural settlements did not have necessarily the highest IAs. Indeed, as Table 2.2.1 indicates, the only registration district with an IA of over 61 was Dudley, a totally urban and industrial

district. The most rural district in the region, Penkridge, only had an IA of 53.71.

Table 2.2.1

POS	NAME	IA
1	Dudley	65.48
2	Stourbridge	55.18
3	Penkridge	53.71
4	West Bromwich	48.93
5	Wolverhampton	46.67
6	Walsall	44.56
7	Birmingham	41.57
8	Aston	33.74
9	King's Norton	28.38

There was a significant difference between the attendance levels recorded in the Black Country and in the Birmingham area. Whereas the five registration districts which have been identified as those representing the Black Country[10] had an IA of 53.38, the IA of the three districts which included some part of the Borough of Birmingham was only 38.15.[11]

However, in both areas the IA of the industrial and urban centre was higher than the more agricultural and rural periphery. Both the Black Country districts of Dudley (65.48) and Stourbridge (55.18), which were largely industrial districts, had IAs above that of the agricultural district of Penkridge (53.71). Dudley, Stourbridge and West Bromwich (48.93) all had IAs higher than the districts of Wolverhampton (46.67) and Walsall (44.56), both of which included semi-rural areas to the north and west.

This evidence contradicts the regional patterns of religious attendance identified by some historians which show that high or low attendance levels in urban centres were matched in the surrounding rural areas.[12] The results of the 1851 Religious Census in the Black Country would indicate that the process of industrialisation cannot be seen also as a process of secularisation. This contrary pattern was first identified by Robson who showed that attendance levels were higher in the Black Country than its immediate surrounding rural area. Staffordshire and Worcestershire had comparatively low rural, but comparatively high urban, attendance. Both Wolverhampton and Dudley had higher IAs than their surrounding rural areas.[13]

Moreover, a similar trend occurred in the Birmingham area, although overall attendance levels were well below those in the Black Country. The IA of the totally industrial and urban district of Birmingham (41.57) was higher than the two districts which almost totally surrounded it, those being the mainly industrial district of Aston (33.74), which nevertheless contained the rural sub-district of Sutton Coldfield; and the rural and only partially industrialised district of King's Norton (28.38).

Indeed, the difference in attendance levels between Birmingham and the surrounding rural settlements was greater than in the Black Country, the IAs for the districts of Aston and King's Norton being the lowest in the region. The IA for the sub-district of Sutton Coldfield, however, the only rural area in the Aston district, was higher than the urban and industrial areas of the district including Deritend and Duddeston.

Overall, there was no discernible pattern of attendance in the region apart from higher levels in the Black Country. There was also no clear urban/rural or industrial/agricultural divide. Even when the individual settlements are considered, instead of the much larger registration districts, the divide is not apparent. Of the eighty-seven settlements identified within the region, forty-seven were industrial and forty agricultural. Table 2.2.2 shows the distribution of these settlements after they have been ranked in descending order of attendance levels, using the aggregate of the morning, afternoon and evening services.

Table 2.2.2

POS	IND	AGR
1-20	9	11
21-40	10	10
41-60	10	10
61-87	18	9
-----	---	----
TOT	47	40

The distribution of industrial and agricultural settlements amongst the sixty settlements with IAs of 40 and above was almost even, with twenty-nine industrial and thirty-one agricultural. An industrial/agricultural divide occurred only in the cases of settlements with IAs lower than 40, of which two-thirds were industrial.

The apparent randomness of distribution of the attendance levels is illustrated by the proximity of the settlements with the highest and the lowest IAs in the region. Quinton (107.16), in the Stourbridge district, and Langley (15.55), in the West Bromwich district, almost adjacent. Quinton was the only settlement where total attendance exceeded the population.[14] Only twenty, or less than a quarter of the settlements, had IAs above Inglis's national average of 61, including three of the nine sub-districts of Birmingham: St Phillip's (86.20); St Mary's (72.29) and St Peter's (68.69), illustrating the patchy nature of attendance within such a large town as Birmingham. This pattern is also apparent in the IAs recorded in Wolverhampton, with Wolverhampton West (64.47) and Wolverhampton East (28.80).

However, if the settlements with IAs of over 75 are disregarded, a divide between Birmingham and the Black Country can be detected. Apart from the above mentioned Birmingham sub-districts, all the other sub-districts

in Birmingham together with the other settlements which were to form the Borough of Birmingham had IAs of forty or less. In contrast, all four sub-districts and settlements in Dudley had IAs of over 55.

This divide can be more easily detected when each registration district is ranked according to the aggregated attendance levels of its individual settlements. To undertake this, firstly, all the region's settlements have been ranked according to their level of attendance, with the settlement with the highest attendance level, Quinton in the Stourbridge union, in first position and the settlement with the lowest attendance level, Langley in the West Bromwich union, in last or eighty-seventh position. Secondly, a score has been given for each individual settlement corresponding to its relative level of attendance. Finally, the scores for all the settlements in each registration district have been aggregated and divided by the number of settlements within that registration district to give an indication of the relative performance of all the districts within the region, in terms of attendance, as shown in table 2.2.3.[15]

The high IAs of all the settlements in Dudley are verified by the very low score of the district. Regardless of absolute attendance levels, Table 2.2.3 illustrates well the distribution of attendance within the region. The highest attendance levels were to be

found in the industrial districts of the Black Country, followed by its surrounding rural area. Attendance levels were lower generally in the Birmingham area, yet the IAs recorded in industrial Birmingham were, on the whole, significantly higher than in the neighbouring districts of semi-industrial Aston and agricultural King's Norton.

Table 2.2.3

POS.	DISTRICT	SCORE
1	Dudley	16.00
2	Stourbridge	33.30
3	Wolverhampton	33.73
4	West Bromwich	41.00
5	Penkridge	47.41
6	Birmingham	49.67
7	Walsall	52.40
8	Aston	52.70
9	King's Norton	54.83

As has already been stated, the IA of Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural area was considerably lower than the national average, and over three quarters of the region's settlements had lower IAs than this average. This could have been predicted as almost 80% of the region's population lived in large industrial towns with over 10,000 inhabitants, places which were seen by historians such as Inglis as having had the lowest attendance levels.

However, in the region, the largest congregations were found in these large industrial towns and not the agricultural settlements. In addition, not only were

the vast majority of people found in large industrial settlements, but an even greater proportion of worshippers lived there. Table 2.2.4 shows that although 78.73% of the population lived in either the Large Industrial Towns or the Regional Centres, they accounted for 80.11% of the region's total attendance.

Table 2.2.4

TYPE	POP	IA	IAcc
AGRICULTURAL HAMLET	2196	42.26	80.87
	0.33%	0.29%	0.69%
AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE	11748	52.91	54.31
	1.76%	1.97%	2.47%
MIXED VILLAGE	13575	54.17	50.87
	2.04%	2.33%	2.67%
INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE	10563	35.11	44.90
	1.58%	1.18%	1.83%
INDUSTRIAL TOWN	37326	42.84	35.39
	5.60%	5.08%	5.11%
EST AGRICULTURAL TOWN	26928	51.86	48.92
	4.04%	4.44%	5.10%
EST. INDUSTRIAL TOWN	39431	40.96	41.94
	5.91%	5.13%	6.40%
LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN	263002	52.86	40.86
	39.45%	44.17%	41.58%
REGIONAL CENTRE	261898	43.19	34.62
	39.28%	35.94%	34.62%
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TOTAL	666,667	47.12	38.88
	100%	100%	100%

Table 2.2.4 shows: firstly, the aggregate IAs and IACCs of all the settlements within each type; secondly, the percentage of the region's worshippers and sittings

which were located in each type; and finally, the total population of the settlements within each type and the percentage this figure was of the region's total population.

The settlement type with the highest IA was rural and only partially industrialised, the Mixed Village (54.17); whereas the Agricultural Village (52.91) had a slightly higher IA than the Large Industrial Town (52.86). However, larger attendance levels were recorded in the highly populated industrial settlements rather than the rural settlements because the IA of the Regional Centre (43.19) was higher than the thinly populated Agricultural Hamlet (42.26), and substantially higher than that of the Industrial Village (35.11).

Although none of the settlement types have IAs higher than the national average, the two rural categories provide the most surprising results. The Agricultural Hamlet generally had IAs ten points less than the Agricultural Village when the only difference between the two was the settlement's population and its density. The Industrial Village had the lowest IAs of all the settlement types within the region, which contradicts the traditional notion of high religious attendances in Black Country "industrial villages" in the mid-nineteenth century.[16]

However, whilst the rural settlement types in the region may not have had as big a proportion of attenders as in other parts of the country,[17] the rural settlements with populations of below 2,500 represented 5.71% of the region's population and accounted for almost the same proportion of the total congregations, 5.77%. It was not the small or the large settlements which had a percentage share of attenders below their proportion of the region's population, but the medium sized settlements with between 2,500 and 10,000 inhabitants. The Industrial Town, the Established Agricultural Town and the Established Industrial Town accounted for 19.55% of the population of the region, yet only 14.65% of its total congregations.

Table 2.2.5

NAME	ATT	POP	DIFF
Birmingham	22.98%	26.09%	-3.11%
Dudley	22.16%	15.98%	+6.18%
Wolverhampton	15.44%	15.60%	-0.16%
West Bromwich	10.63%	10.26%	+0.37%
Stourbridge	10.05%	8.60%	+1.45%
Aston	7.13%	9.98%	-2.75%
Walsall	6.09%	6.46%	-0.37%
King's Norton	2.78%	4.63%	-1.85%
Penkridge	2.73%	2.40%	+0.33%

Table 2.2.5 shows the proportion of attenders and population per district, indicating that, in absolute terms, the greatest number of attenders were to be found in those districts with the highest populations. Moreover, the greatest number of worshippers were found in the districts with the largest industrial towns,

Birmingham, Dudley, Wolverhampton and West Bromwich, all with populations of above 30,000. Although it may appear obvious that the districts with the highest populations had the largest number of worshippers, this also meant that the largest concentration of worshippers were in the industrial not the agricultural districts, a factor which becomes more significant when examining the distribution of crowded places of worship and the lack of religious accommodation in the most populous industrial settlements.

Apart from Birmingham and Dudley, no registration district had more than a 3% difference between its proportion of the regional population and attenders. Consequently, although Black Country districts generally had a higher proportion of attenders to population and Birmingham districts a lower proportion, the distribution of attenders to population was relatively even throughout the region.

In conclusion, therefore, a number of patterns concerning overall religious attendance in the region can be discerned. Firstly, the region's attendance levels were much lower than the national average. Secondly, they were higher in the Black Country, in the west of the region, than in the Birmingham area. Finally, contrary to some established patterns, regional attendance figures were higher in the industrial and urban, rather than the agricultural and

rural districts and settlements. In order to investigate further this apparent disparity between the relatively low rural, and relatively high urban, attendances, it is necessary to compare the relative performance of each denomination within each registration district and within each settlement type.

The level of religious accommodation for the region was even lower than its attendance level.[18] With an IAcc of 38.88, there were sittings for less than two out of every five people in the region. The reason for this appears to have been the lack of accommodation in the region's large industrial towns where not only the vast majority of the people lived but also a great majority of the accommodation was to be found. Table 2.2.4 indicates that although there was not sufficient space for three out of five people in these large towns, over 85% of the region's accommodation was found there.

Table 2.2.6

POS	NAME	IAcc	IA/IAcc
1	Penkridge	64.20	0.836
2	Stourbridge	50.68	1.089
3	Dudley	49.10	1.334
4	West Bromwich	44.30	1.106
5	Walsall	40.64	1.096
6	Wolverhampton	36.55	1.277
7	Birmingham	31.33	1.327
8	Aston	28.41	1.188
9	King's Norton	24.74	1.147

The level of accommodation for the region, as measured by the IAcc, did not follow the same unusual pattern as the attendance levels. Table 2.2.6 shows that the highest per capita proportion of sittings was in the rural and almost totally agricultural district of Penkridge (64.20) where the level of population was already in decline. This was the only district within the region which had sufficient sittings to seat the 58% of the population which Horace Mann thought were able to attend a place of worship on Census Sunday. [19] Only in one other district, Stourbridge (50.68), were there enough sittings to accommodate over half the population. Indeed, in King's Norton (24.74), itself a mainly agricultural district, less than one quarter of the population could have been accommodated.

The industrial/agricultural divide can be easily detected if the eighty-seven settlements within the region are ranked in terms of the level of accommodation as in Table 2.2.7, which shows that of the twenty settlements with the highest IACCs sixteen, or 80%, were agricultural.

Table 2.2.7

POS	AGR	IND
1-20	16	4
21-40	11	9
41-60	8	12
61-87	5	22

Bobbington (116.88), an Agricultural Hamlet in the extreme west of the region in the Wolverhampton district, had the highest IAcc. Three other settlements, Lapley, Shareshill and Quinton, all had IACCs of over 100, meaning that there was more accommodation than people in these settlements. Astonishingly, St Phillip's (97.23), a sub-district of Birmingham, had almost as many sittings as people. Three settlements, Hasbury, Edgbaston and Langley, had IACCs of less than fifteen, with Langley the lowest with (12.86).

Twenty-eight, or just less than a third of the region's eighty-seven settlements, had accommodation for over 58% of its population, the percentage which Mann suggested could have attended service on Census Sunday. Not surprisingly, Penkridge had the highest number of settlements with adequate accommodation, with ten of its eighteen settlements having IACCs over 58. The semi-rural district of Aston had five, but the almost totally rural King's Norton had only two. Each of the industrial districts of Birmingham, Dudley and West Bromwich had only one settlement with over a 58% accommodation level. Stourbridge had four settlements, including Cradley (60.30) and Halesowen (65.74) which, together with Sedgley (58.80), were the only settlements in the Black Country with "adequate" provision.

As the IACCs of Dudley, Stourbridge, West Bromwich and Walsall indicate, a large majority of the Black Country settlements had accommodation for between 40-60% of their population. Conversely, only four settlements within the boundaries of the borough of Birmingham had seats for over two out of every five people.

Furthermore, ten of the seventeen settlements which had no provision for at least seven out of every ten people were in Birmingham. Not only were attendance figures higher in the Black Country than in Birmingham, it appears that church and chapel authorities in Birmingham could not achieve the same per capita accommodation levels as in the Black Country in the face of a growing population.

In addition to Bobbington, only two other Agricultural Villages in the Wolverhampton district, Trysull (60.82) and Enville (59.48), had "sufficient" accommodation. The others, Himley (52.25), Pattingham (44.20) and Penn (41.55), and the Mixed Village of Wombourn (56.20), had IAcc's less than 58. The high accommodation levels experienced to the north of Wolverhampton were not repeated to the west of the town. Again, this may have been due to falling populations in the north rather than a differing church extension agenda in the Penkridge union.

As with Bobbington, both Shareshill and Lapley, the two Penkridge settlements with more accommodation than

people, were Agricultural Hamlets. Furthermore the Agricultural Hamlet, with an IAcc of (80.87), had by far the highest proportion of sittings in the region. This was partially a result of the falling population experienced in many of these settlements in the first half of the nineteenth century.[20] Notwithstanding this, in no other type of settlement was there sufficient sittings to accommodate at least 58% of the inhabitants, implying that, apart from the very smallest settlements, there was deficient religious provision throughout the whole of the region, including both urban and rural areas.

Eight of the twenty-eight settlements with an IAcc of over 58 were Agricultural Villages. Nevertheless, the IAcc of this type of settlement was only 54.31. On the whole, the agricultural settlement types had higher levels of provision. Nineteen of the top twenty-eight were either Agricultural Hamlets, Agricultural Villages, Mixed Villages or Established Agricultural Towns. Whereas all these types had accommodation for nearly half their inhabitants, with IACCs above 48, the accommodation level for the industrial settlements, with the exception of the Industrial Village, ranged between one sitting per 2.38 people in the Established Industrial Town to almost one sitting for every three people in the Regional Centre.

It would also appear that the settlement's level of population and its accommodation level were inversely related, that is, the greater the population of a settlement the lower its religious provision, in terms of sittings. Twenty of the twenty-eight settlements with "adequate" provision were settlements with less than 2,500 inhabitants. Indeed, even in the Industrial Village accommodation levels were higher than in any other industrial settlement type.

By dividing the Index of Attendance by the Index of Accommodation, it is possible to determine the density of the congregation by calculating the number of attenders per sitting, based on total attendance of morning, afternoon and evening services. Not surprisingly as it had the highest attendance levels, Dudley had the most crowded churches and chapels, and Penkridge, with the highest accommodation levels, had the least crowded. However, Dudley's level was almost matched by Birmingham, demonstrating that although the religious attendance levels were far less in Birmingham than the Black Country, Birmingham's places of worship were almost as full as those in the Black Country district.

For example, the Birmingham sub-district of St. Mary's had the highest density rate with 2.16. Four of the nine Birmingham sub-districts together with three of the settlements which lay within the boundaries of the

borough of Birmingham had over 1.4 people per sitting, a rate exceeded by only ten other settlements in the region.[21] Moreover, those sub-districts in Birmingham with the highest attendance rates did not necessarily have the most crowded places of worship. St. Phillip's, IA (84.47) had a density of 0.86 whereas St Paul's (25.78), St Thomas's (29.29) and St George's (32.54) all had densities above 1.40.

The places of worship in these predominantly poorer areas of Birmingham were more crowded than those of the wealthier districts and all the Black Country districts,[22] implying that the reason for low per capita attendance in the town was even lower per capita accommodation. On the other hand, a similar pattern of density of religious attendance did not occur in Wolverhampton, the second largest town in the region. Wealthier Wolverhampton West had both a far higher IA (64.47) and density rate (1.78) than the poorer district of Wolverhampton East, IA (28.80) and density rate (0.80), the lowest density rate of any Black Country settlement.[23]

This contradictory tendency of lower attendance levels yet more popular and crowded churches experienced in the poorer parts of Birmingham could have been due to the inability of all denominations to erect sufficient buildings to meet demand. The partial failure of the Anglican initiative of the Ten Churches Building Scheme

in the town and the inability of the Methodist connexions to establish sufficient membership to support larger facilities resulted in a less effective range of religious accommodation in these areas than in the other industrial areas in the region, especially the Black Country.

Throughout the region the most crowded places of worship were found generally in the industrial settlements. Just under half the agricultural settlements had a density rate of below 0.81, whereas over half the industrial settlements had rates of above 1.20. The most rural registration district, Penkridge, had the lowest density rate suggesting that the size and density of the congregation may have been determined by the walking distance from church to home. All four settlements which had over two and a half sittings per person, Dunstan (0.37), Bednall (0.35), Coppenhall (0.34), Lapley (0.34) and Great Wyrley (0.25) were situated in the Penkridge district.[24] All, save Great Wyrley, were large agricultural parishes with a single place of worship. Great Wyrley was a small industrial settlement on the fringe of Cannock Chase where similar low density rates had been recorded in the Industrial Villages of Brownhills (0.75), Pelsall (0.48) and Walsall Wood (0.43).

A similar pattern can be observed in Aston district where the density rate of the rural settlements of

Wishaw and Saltley was below 0.5 compared with over 1.2 in the industrial settlements of Deritend, Aston Manor and Duddeston. Conversely, some of the agricultural settlements to the west of Wolverhampton, including Tettenhall, Himley and Penn had higher density rates than the majority of the industrial settlements in the district. This may have been due to the proximity of these rural settlements to large industrial populations but, nevertheless, the experience of empty churches to the north of the town does not appear to have happened to the west.

In conclusion, therefore, four points have been identified, concerning religious provision within Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural area in the mid-nineteenth century. Firstly, the religious provision, in terms of accommodation, of the whole of the region was insufficient. In all types of settlements with over 600 inhabitants, both industrial and agricultural, there were not sufficient seats or space for at least 58% of the population, the amount of people which Mann estimated could have attended a place of worship on Census Sunday. It should be remembered, however, that, notwithstanding this general lack of accommodation, the region's churches and chapels were not packed with standing room only. Despite using the aggregate of morning, afternoon and evening services, only two settlements had more than two people per sitting, indeed sixty-three settlements had a density

rate of between 0.5 and 1.5. Assuming that three services took place at each site on Census Sunday then the vast majority of the region's places of worship were less than half full. Even if only two services were held the churches and chapels would only have been between a quarter and three quarters full.

Secondly, however, in contrast to the region's attendance levels, the pattern of the level of accommodation revealed a distinctive agricultural/industrial divide. Although accommodation in many of the agricultural settlements was seen as less than adequate, it was less inadequate than in industrial settlements. It would appear that higher levels of provision were to be found in the settlements with smaller populations. Indeed, even the industrial settlements with lower populations had higher accommodation rates than those with higher populations.

Thirdly, the highest accommodation rates were located in the largely agricultural Penkridge district, which was the only district with "adequate" provision. This may have been due to the relatively large number of Agricultural Hamlets situated in that district.[25] Ten of the district's seventeen settlements had accommodation for over 58% of their inhabitants. Aston was the only other district in the region where at least half of its settlements reached this "adequate" level. The overall level of Aston's accommodation was

brought down only by the pitiful provision in its industrial settlements. Lower accommodation levels were found in Wolverhampton's agricultural settlements, but the lowest of all were obtained in King's Norton, a district which, although being almost totally rural, had the lowest IACCs of all the region's districts. However, it was the settlements in Penkridge which had "adequate" accommodation which also had the emptiest churches. Some of the agricultural settlements in Wolverhampton, on the other hand, had higher density levels than the industrial settlements.

Finally, the industrial settlements in the Birmingham area suffered lower accommodation levels than the Black Country settlements. This was not due to high levels in the Black Country but because a high proportion of Birmingham settlements had accommodation for less than three in every ten people. This could have been caused by the lack of effective Methodist presence in the area compensating for the lower urban Anglican provision. However Birmingham's places of worship were fuller in most cases than those of the Black Country. Indeed, some of the poorer sub-districts of Birmingham, although having low attendance levels, had some of the fullest congregations in the region with places of worship, significantly more crowded than the places of worship in the more central and wealthier areas of the town where, nevertheless, IAs were generally higher.

2.3 Denominational Distribution: The Church of England.

The Anglican IA for the region was 18.71, that is, less than one person in five attended Church on Census Sunday; and the Anglican PS was only 39.7%.[26] These levels were significantly lower than the national Anglican IA (29.54) and PS (48.6%).[27] Table 2.3.1 indicates the Anglican IAs and PSs for each Registration District.

Table 2.3.1

POS	REG. DIST	IA	PS
1.	Penkridge	31.11	62.4%
2.	Kings Norton	23.38	66.6%
3.	Wolverhampton	22.49	48.8%
4.	Stourbridge	21.04	38.3%
5.	Aston	18.06	53.5%
6.	Birmingham	17.85	42.9%
7.	Walsall	16.18	38.0%
8.	West Bromwich	16.06	32.8%
9.	Dudley	15.13	23.1%

The highest IAs were found in the agricultural or semi-agricultural districts and, even in those districts which had IAs below the regional average, the greater the extent of agriculture within the district the greater the Anglican presence, in terms of attendance. Conversely, regardless of geographic location, the districts with a high concentration of industry had the lowest Anglican IAs. Whereas both Penkridge and Kings Norton consisted of predominantly agricultural settlements, West Bromwich, Dudley and Birmingham contained only industrial settlements.

However, the Anglican PS varied considerably in these industrial districts, the Church of England having a far lower share of attenders in the Black Country than in the rest of the region. In West Bromwich and Dudley, for example, the Anglicans accounted for less than one third of the total number of attenders, compared with over 40% in Birmingham. These diverse patterns, however, were not necessarily an indication of significantly higher Anglican IAs in Birmingham. The higher overall IAs recorded in the Black Country meant a similar Anglican IA would result in a higher PS in Birmingham, where attendance at other denominations was not as high as in the Black Country.

Table 2.3.1 shows that, for Registration Districts, the level of Anglican attendance did not determine total attendance levels. Indeed, in the Black Country districts, not only were Anglican PSs significantly lower, but also there was a negative correlation between total and Anglican attendance levels, that is, the higher the overall IA, the lower the Anglican IA. Dudley, for example, recorded the highest overall IA, yet had the lowest Anglican IA.

Eighty-one out of the eighty-seven settlements had at least one Anglican place of worship on March 30, 1851. Himley, in the Wolverhampton Registration District, had the highest Anglican IA (77.5), followed by Shareshill,

in Penkridge (70.67), and Curdworth, in Aston (69.17). In eight settlements, the above three, together with Aldridge, Bushbury, Penn, Enville and Castle Bromwich, the IAs would suggest that over half the population attended an Anglican service.

It may not be surprising that the highest Church of England attendance levels were to be found in agricultural settlements, especially the agricultural village which was the traditional community within rural England, and where in a large majority of cases, the Church of England was the only religious denomination to have a presence. In ten out of the fourteen settlements identified as Agricultural Villages the Anglican IA was over 45, a level only bettered by four other settlements. Of the ten settlements with the highest Anglican IAs, seven have been identified as Agricultural Villages, and seven as single denomination settlements. Of these Bushbury, where 95.44% of the total number of worshippers attended the Church of England, and Castle Bromwich, with 80.67%, were the only agricultural villages where competition from any other denomination existed.

Twelve (60%) of the twenty settlements with the highest Anglican IAs were single denominational, representing almost two-thirds (63.15%) of all settlements within the region with an Anglican monopoly. However, five settlements had IAs of below 30, with Dunstan the

lowest, (16.99). This demonstrates that, although a monopoly resulted generally in relatively high Anglican IAs, some single denomination settlements experienced low Anglican attendance and hence low overall attendance figures.

An Anglican monopoly may not always have ensured a relatively high attendance, but of the twenty settlements with the highest Anglican IAs, over four out of five worshippers attended at the Church of England.[28] Furthermore, only in two of the twenty settlements with the lowest Anglican IAs did the proportion of Anglican to total attendance rise above half. Consequently, it would seem that the higher the proportion of Anglican to total attendance within a settlement, the higher the Anglican attendance levels of that settlement. In other words, Anglican attendance levels fell in settlements where the competition between the Anglicans and the other denominations was increasing. Fewer of the population may have felt it necessary to attend the Church of England, either because of the traditional authority of the Church was not as great or simply because other places of worship were available locally and it was no longer necessary to attend an Anglican church in order to worship God.

There were sharp differences between the Anglican attendance levels of the industrial and agricultural settlements. The Anglicans had a presence in forty-one

industrial and forty agricultural settlements but, in general, they attained considerably higher IAs in the agricultural settlements as shown in Table 2.3.2. When settlements were ranked by Anglican attendance levels, less than one quarter of the industrial settlements were to be found in the top half of the rankings and the same proportion of agricultural settlements were located in the bottom half.

Table 2.3.2.

POS	IND	AGR
1-20	1	19
21-40	8	12
41-60	13	7
61-81	19	2
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TOT	41	40

In the nineteen industrial settlements out of the twenty-one with the lowest Anglican IAs, less than one sixth of the population attended the Church of England, the lowest IAs being Darlaston (7.70), All Saints (5.01) and Lady Wood (3.40). Whereas the highest incidence of Anglican attendance occurred largely in Agricultural Villages, the lowest incidence, although wholly to be found in industrial areas, was not the preserve of only one type of industrial settlement. At least one example of each industrial settlement type had an Anglican IA of less than 15.[29]

In Table 2.3.3 the relative incidence of Anglican attendance for each individual settlement type was

determined as previously in Table 2.2.3. The figure in brackets indicates the number of settlements of that type with no Anglican presence or where attendance figures were not available.

Table 2.3.3

	TYPE	IA	SCORE
1.	AGR VILLAGE	48.36	19.53 (1)
2.	AGR HAMLET	38.11	25.00 (1)
3.	EST AGR TOWN	32.50	28.42 (0)
4.	MIXED VILLAGE	27.51	40.38 (0)
5.	EST IND TOWN	23.24	40.83 (0)
6.	IND TOWN	20.26	50.57 (0)
7.	REG CENTRE	17.90	53.41 (0)
8.	LARGE IND TOWN	15.93	58.45 (0)
9.	IND VILLAGE	10.61	59.67 (4)

The industrial/agricultural divide is easily identifiable, with the totally agricultural settlements having the lowest scores and hence the highest incidence of Anglican attendance, with IAs of over 30. Conversely, the totally industrialised settlements had the highest scores and lowest incidence, with IAs of less than 20. The settlement types in which there was a mixture of agriculture and industry lie between these extremes. This would imply a strong negative correlation between the level of Anglican attendance and the amount of industry in a settlement, that is, the greater the level of industrialisation the lower the proportion of the population attending at the Church of England.

Attendance levels were significantly higher for the Agricultural Villages than Agricultural Hamlets albeit an Agricultural Hamlet had a lower population. This may have been due to the more scattered nature of the smaller settlement, mainly comprising a number of isolated farms which made regular church attendance more difficult because of the state of the roads, the distance involved in reaching the church, and the isolated and hence less dependent lives of the farmers and farm labourers.

Indeed, seven of the eight Agricultural Hamlets had both an Anglican presence and monopoly yet only nine of the fourteen Agricultural Villages were similarly placed. This suggests that the negative effect on Anglican attendances caused by the scattered population of the smaller settlement was more significant than the positive effect caused by the lack of denominational competition. In these agricultural settlements, therefore, it would appear that social pressure was a greater incentive to attend than was the existence of alternative denominations.[30]

In industrial settlements too, higher population did not result necessarily in lower Anglican attendance levels. The Large Industrial Town (15.93) had a lower incidence than not only the more populated Regional Centre (17.90) but also the less populated Industrial Town (20.26). Furthermore, the incidence of Anglican

attendance was at its lowest in the Industrial Village (10.61) which had a population of under 2,000. Indeed, of the six settlements in the region without any Anglican presence four were Industrial Villages.

The level of Anglican attendance may have been determined in the industrial settlements by the level of Anglican accommodation, that is, the small numbers of people attending Church in industrial towns and villages may have been a result of the lack of both churches and sittings.

Table 2.3.4

	TYPE	IAcc	IA/IAcc
1.	AGR HAMLET	70.78	0.538
2.	AGR VILLAGE	45.39	1.065
3.	MIXED VILLAGE	33.44	0.823
4.	EST AGR TOWN	31.45	1.552
5.	IND VILLAGE	28.94	0.372
6.	EST IND TOWN	20.93	1.229
7.	IND TOWN	18.91	0.644
8.	REG CENTRE	15.49	1.162
9.	LARGE IND TOWN	15.41	1.028

Table 2.3.4 shows, firstly, the Index of Accommodation (IAcc) of each settlement type, taking the number of Anglican sittings within a settlement as a percentage of the settlement's population and, secondly, the proportion of sittings to attenders on Census Sunday which indicates how full the Anglican churches were in each settlement type. The five settlements with the highest IAccs were all Agricultural Hamlets with

Shareshill (104.88) and Bobbington (101.30) having more sittings than population.

The established agricultural/industrial attendance patterns are maintained, with higher levels of accommodation in the agricultural areas. However, unlike attendance, the IAcc of a settlement appears to have been also dependent upon the settlement's population size. All three types of villages had Anglican accommodation for between a quarter and a half of the population. The level of accommodation, however, fell as the proportion of industry grew. The lowest levels were recorded in the Industrial Villages, four of which having no Anglican accommodation at all.

In the towns too, the larger the population the less per capita accommodation. However, the Regional Centre (15.49) had a slightly higher per capita Anglican accommodation level than the Large Industrial Towns (15.41) despite having a higher population. Nine out of the thirteen settlements with the lowest Anglican IAccs, ranging from St Paul's (11.46) to Lady Wood (4.96), were within the boundaries of the borough of Birmingham, including the Large Industrial Towns of Deritend and Duddeston and the Industrial Town of Aston. The other four settlements included both the Established Agricultural Town of Kings Norton (6.44) and the Industrial Town of Smethwick (9.38), which later were to become part of the borough. It would

appear, therefore, that any church building which occurred in Birmingham was concentrated in a few specific areas and per capita Anglican accommodation in the borough was much lower than in the rest of the region.

The Regional Centres of Wolverhampton and Dudley had Anglican IAccs comparable with the large towns of the Black Country, ranging from 12.5 to 25. Thus, the Church of England had enough sittings in the Black Country's largest towns to accommodate only between one-eighth and one-quarter of the population. Whereas Wolverhampton West (23.85) and Wolverhampton East (21.40) had levels similar to Rowley Regis (22.84) at the top of the range, Dudley (15.00) had a level comparable with those Large Industrial Towns at the bottom of the range including Oldbury (14.77), Bilston (13.29) and West Bromwich (12.79).

Beyond the agricultural/industrial divide, therefore, the level of Anglican accommodation throughout the region appears to have been determined more by Registration district and population rather than settlement type. The highest Anglican IAccs were to be found in the settlements with the smallest populations, invariably agricultural settlements experiencing falling or stagnant populations over the previous fifty years. On the other hand, in the industrial settlements

where population had been increasing rapidly, per capita church accommodation was at its lowest.

Although the level of accommodation was higher in the Black Country than in Birmingham, no further factors have been identified which could have affected Church accommodation levels. Whereas in settlements of below 10,000 inhabitants the greatest factor determining Anglican IAccs was the population size, in settlements with over 10,000 inhabitants no such correlation exists.

There appears to be no significant difference between the proportion of Anglican sittings occupied and total sittings occupied. Apart from the Industrial Village, the proportion of total Church of England attendance to accommodation was between 0.5 and 1.5, indicating that if three services were held at all the churches then they would be half full at the most. Anglican churches were most crowded in the Established Agricultural Towns and the Established Industrial Towns but, more importantly, in those industrial settlements with populations of over 10,000 the Anglican churches were nearly as crowded as the other places of worship. The reason for Birmingham and Dudley having the most crowded churches and chapels, therefore, was not due to people flocking to attend non-conformist chapels whilst disregarding Anglican churches: these churches were almost as well attended.

2.4 Denominational Distribution: The Methodists

Table 2.4.1 shows the regional IAs and PSs of the three Methodist Connexions and their aggregate. Tables 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 shows the IAs and PSs of each connexion and the aggregated total for each registration district.[31]

Table 2.4.1

CONNEXION	IA	PS
Wesleyans	8.66	18.4%
New Connexion	2.92	6.2%
Primitive	4.47	9.5%
	------	-----
Total	16.05	34.1%

Table 2.4.2

POS.	REG. DIST.	WES	PM	MNC	IA
1.	Dudley	16.53	10.24	9.04	35.81
2.	Stourbridge	8.02	9.24	7.78	25.04
3.	West Bromwich	11.99	7.11	3.19	22.29
4.	Walsall	10.41	6.92	0.00	17.33
5.	Wolverhampton	10.31	3.66	1.31	15.28
6.	Penkridge	4.45	1.19	3.86	9.50
7.	Kings Norton	4.40	1.46	0.25	6.11
8.	Birmingham	4.27	0.52	0.71	5.50
9.	Aston	3.89	0.34	0.00	4.23

Table 2.4.3

POS.	REG. DIST	WES	PM	MNC	PS
1.	Dudley	25.3%	15.6%	13.8%	54.3%
2.	Stourbridge	14.6%	16.9%	14.2%	45.7%
3.	West Bromwich	24.5%	14.5%	6.5%	45.5%
4.	Walsall	24.4%	16.2%	0	40.6%
5.	Wolverhampton	22.4%	7.9%	2.8%	33.1%
6.	Penkridge	8.9%	4.0%	7.7%	20.6%
7.	Kings Norton	12.5%	4.2%	0.7%	17.4%
8.	Birmingham	10.3%	1.3%	1.7%	13.3%
9.	Aston	11.5%	1.0%	0	12.5%

Within the region, there were as many people attending a Methodist chapel as an Anglican Church. Both the Wesleyans and the Primitives were represented in all registration districts but the New Connexion did not have a presence in either Walsall or Aston, both in the north-east of the region. The dominance of Methodism in the Black Country can easily be discerned from the above tables. In the Black Country districts of Dudley, Stourbridge, Walsall and West Bromwich over two out of every five worshippers attended a Methodist chapel. Indeed, in Dudley, the apparent heartland of Black Country Methodism, the incidence of Methodist attendance was over twice as much as the Anglicans, and, furthermore, more than half the total worshippers attended some variety of Methodist chapel. Whereas in these Black Country districts the combined Methodist IAs were higher than those of the Church of England, in Penkridge, Kings Norton, Birmingham and Aston, the Anglican attendance levels were more than three times those of the Methodists.

Generally, the regional attendance patterns of the three Methodist connexions mirrored that of the denomination as a whole. All had a far higher level of attendance and share of the total number of worshippers in the Black Country districts than in the rest of the region, with the higher IAs recorded in Dudley. Furthermore, the lowest IAs were in industrial Birmingham and semi-industrial Aston. It would appear,

therefore, that, irrespective of the amount of industry within a district, the attendance levels of all three Methodist connexions were far lower in those districts on the extremities of the region, that is, the further the district was from their heartland of Dudley, the lower the Methodist IA and PS.

In Dudley, West Bromwich, Walsall and Wolverhampton the Wesleyan IA was over 10, and more than one in five of the total worshippers attended a Wesleyan chapel. In the other districts the IA was under five and the Wesleyans accounted for less than one in eight of the worshippers. Indeed, in Dudley, West Bromwich and Walsall, the Wesleyans had more, or nearly as many, attenders as the Anglicans. They were not able to attract, however, the same level of attendance in the agricultural districts. Penkridge, with the least amount of industry, was the only district where the Wesleyans failed to gain at least one in ten of all worshippers. In addition, Wolverhampton and Stourbridge, the Black Country districts with the greatest level of agriculture, had the lowest Wesleyan IAs and PSs.

The New Connexion had their highest IAs and PSs in Dudley and Stourbridge, the only districts where they gained more than one in ten of the total worshippers. They were not represented at all in two districts and their presence was minimal in Wolverhampton, Birmingham

and Kings Norton. However, unlike the Wesleyans, they appear to have been nearly as successful in the agricultural as the industrial districts, with Penkridge having a higher IA and PS than six more industrialised districts. However, Penkridge district had only one New Connexion congregation.[32] Twenty-one, or less than a quarter of all identified settlements within the region, had at least one Methodist New Connexion chapel and in these settlements their congregation accounted for less than one in five of total attenders.[33]

The Primitives were represented in all nine registration districts, the highest IAs recorded being in Dudley, Stourbridge and West Bromwich. However, they had little or no presence in Penkridge or in the districts in the east of the region. In four districts, including Wolverhampton, less than one person in fifty attended one of their chapels.

These patterns indicate that the major factor influencing Methodist attendance levels was not industrial or demographic but locational. Both the districts of Birmingham and Aston had a higher concentration of industry and population than parts of the Black Country, yet they had consistently much lower Methodist attendance levels. As this appears to contradict the conclusions derived from Tables 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, it is necessary to analyse Methodist

attendance levels for all the settlements within the region with some form of Methodist congregation. Whereas the incidence of Anglican attendance was higher in agricultural rather than industrial settlements, of the fifty-nine settlements within the region with a Methodist presence, forty-three (72.9%) were industrial. Moreover, of the twenty-eight settlements which did not have any Methodist presence at all, seventeen were agricultural parishes with an Anglican monopoly.

Table 2.4.4 ranks these fifty-nine settlements according to the level of Methodist attendance and shows that not only were there over twice as many industrial settlements with a Methodist presence in the region but also, generally, the Methodists had a greater level of attendance in these industrial settlements. 90% of the twenty settlements with the highest Methodist IA were industrial.

Table 2.4.4

POS	IND	AGR
1-20	18	2
21-40	13	7
41-59	12	7
TOTAL	43	16

Table 2.4.5 shows both the overall Methodist IA and the IAs of the three connexions when the fifty-nine settlements were put into their allotted settlement type.

Table 2.4.5

TYPE	WES	PM	MNC	TOT
Large Ind Town	13.53	8.06	4.17	25.76
Ind. Village	6.53	7.61	5.84	19.98
Mixed Village	11.34	5.24	0.07	16.65
Ind. Town	6.96	4.54	4.87	16.37
Regional Centre	5.49	1.61	2.08	9.18
Est. Agr. Town	6.46	1.83	0.25	8.54
Est. Ind. Town	6.46	2.23	1.60	7.22
Agr. Hamlet	4.14	0	0	4.14
Agr.Village	1.44	0	0	1.44

Eleven of the fifteen Agricultural Villages and eight of the nine Agricultural Hamlets had no Methodist presence. Handsworth was the only industrial settlement similarly placed. The Large Industrial Town (25.76) and the Industrial Village (19.98) had the highest Methodist attendance levels. In the Large Industrial Town it was almost three times higher than in the Regional Centre. Indeed, whereas some form of Methodism was present in all the Large Industrial Towns, none existed in the Birmingham sub-districts of Ladywood, St Paul's and St Peter's.

All the Large Industrial Towns in the Black Country had Methodist IAs of between 25-50 and in most of these the Methodists accounted for at least half the number of worshippers.[34] The sub-district of Dudley, the Regional Centre of the Black Country, had a Methodist IA (25.35) and PS (48%), a figure bettered by nine Large Industrial Towns either adjacent to, or in close proximity to, the town of Dudley. Indeed, the three settlements with the largest Methodist attendance levels were the other Dudley sub-districts. Thus, it

may be reasonable to argue that the heartland of Black Country Methodism can be approximated to the area covered by these nine settlements, with an epicentre located in the Regional Centre of Dudley, despite the town's relative low Methodist IA and PS.

This notion is supported by the level of Methodist attendance in the Large Industrial Towns located outside this heartland, where IAs were generally below ten and Methodist attendance accounted for less than a quarter of all worshippers.[35] These trends were more similar to those found in the Regional Centres of Birmingham and Wolverhampton, where Methodist IAs ranged from 2.27 to 17.00, and Methodism accounted for 6-34% of the total attenders.[36]

It would appear, therefore, that the pattern of Methodist attendance was determined more by district than settlement type. However, apart from Dudley itself, this heartland consisted almost exclusively of Large Industrial Towns and the high level of Methodist attendance may have been related to the concentration of settlements of the same type rather than simply location. Indeed, in seven out of the ten identified Industrial Villages within the region the Methodists had IAs of between 17 and 27, despite none of them being located within the perceived heartland.[37] Methodism was present in other types of settlement,

although not found in the vast majority of Agricultural Villages and Hamlets.[38]

The Wesleyans had congregations in fifty-one out of the eighty-seven settlements, ranging from Harbourn (39.70) and Sedgley (26.52) to Sutton Coldfield (1.07) and Wolverhampton East (1.61). They were the only denomination represented in two settlements, Huntington and Great Wyrley, both near Cannock. In two neighbouring settlements, Essington and Pelsall, over half the religious attenders were Wesleyans. Although these settlements were not in the same Registration District, they represented an almost contiguous area to the north of Walsall and to the South of Cannock, in the newly developing Cannock Chase coalfield.

In addition, none of these settlements were coterminous with Anglican parishes: Essington and Huntington were in Cannock; Pelsall was in Wolverhampton; but all were located on the boundaries of these parishes and the parish of Walsall. This supports Everitt's argument that rural non-conformity flourished in these boundary settlements which often sprang up in the newly industrialised areas as a result of the increased demand for certain commodities caused by industrialisation, for example coal and iron.[39]

One unexpected feature of the findings is the relatively poor performance of the Industrial Village,

most having only one place of worship which, although Methodist, was not usually Wesleyan. Despite the high incidence of Wesleyan attendance in Essington (22.52), Pelsall (19.88) and Great Wyrley (17.84), there was no Wesleyan presence in four out of the ten Industrial Villages. Indeed, the Wesleyan IA of the Mixed Village (11.34) was nearly twice as high as the Industrial Village (6.53).

Out of the fifteen Agricultural Villages, twelve did not have any Wesleyan chapels, the three exceptions being Castle Bromwich (13.09), Beoley (6.88) and Codsall (3.18). Although the size of population was a factor determining Anglican attendance levels in Agricultural Villages and Hamlets, such a correlation did not exist for Wesleyan attendances. Indeed, three out of the nine Agricultural Hamlets had a Wesleyan presence, Huntington (25.95), Bobbington (8.83) and Water Orton (8.02), suggesting that the Wesleyans had greater success in this type of settlement because the influence of the squire and the parson was less than in the Agricultural Village.

Generally, however, the Wesleyan Methodists had their highest IAs in the industrial settlements, especially the Large Industrial Town (13.53). In the Regional Centre (5.49), the Wesleyan presence was very patchy. Of the twelve registration sub-districts which represented the three Regional Centres of Dudley,

Wolverhampton and Birmingham, Wolverhampton West had the highest Wesleyan IA (17.00), but the lowest was found in Wolverhampton East (1.61).[40]

Robson argues that the Wesleyan lack of success in Regional Centres was due to the size of the settlement. The early Wesleyan itinerants had their greatest successes in those areas where a presence could be established very rapidly, such areas as the smaller "industrial towns" of the Black Country.[41] Even Dudley had a Wesleyan IA of only 9.01. This can be explained, however, by the defection to the Methodist New Connexion in 1834-6 of numerous Wesleyan chapels and members following the radical campaigning of John Gordon and others in the Dudley and Stourbridge circuits.[42]

Sixteen out of the twenty-one settlements with Methodist New Connexion (MNC) congregations were in the Black Country, and nineteen have been identified as industrial settlements. They had chapels in just two of the nine sub-districts of Birmingham, St Martin's (2.27) and St George's (2.11) and, in both, accounted for less than 7% of the total number of worshippers. Their only presence in rural or even semi-rural places was in the two settlements with the lowest IAs, namely, Kings Norton (0.85), with less than 3% of the total attenders, and Harbourn (0.43), with less than 1% of total attenders. These were also the only agricultural

or semi-agricultural settlements with a Methodist New Connexion presence.

The New Connexion also had their greatest success in the Large Industrial Towns and Industrial Towns rather than the Regional Centres. Dudley (9.76), with its particular circumstances caused by secession, was the only Regional Centre where the MNC had an IA approaching ten. In addition to their scant representation in Birmingham, there were no New Connexion chapels in Wolverhampton West and their IA in Wolverhampton East was 1.56, representing 5.42% of the total attendance. Furthermore, West Bromwich (1.63), a settlement identified as a Large Industrial Town although having a population of over 30,000, was more similar to the Regional Centres than the smaller Black Country towns.

The presence of the New Connexion was limited largely to settlements within the Dudley and Stourbridge Registration Districts. Apart from Cheslyn Hay, they had both their highest IAs of over five, and a PS of 8-20% in ten settlements lying within a five mile radius of Dudley town centre[43], reaching its limits at Wolverhampton and West Bromwich.[44] This is consistent with the seccession of the Wesleyan chapels and members less than twenty years earlier. Nationally, the MNC was concentrated mainly in its northern heartlands in East Lancashire and could only deploy limited resources in

the West Midlands. Consequently, the success or otherwise of the connexion was determined largely by local factors, including hard work and commitment, and existing strength of membership which was largely the result of secession rather than recruitment.[45]

The Primitive Methodists had a presence in thirty-five settlements in the region and, like the New Connexion, they had no congregations in any of the Agricultural Villages or Agricultural Hamlets. They had, however, established a far bigger proportion of the total attendance in a far greater number of agricultural settlements than the almost exclusively industrially based New Connexion.

This is consistent with their impact nationally as agricultural settlements were made a focus of missionary activity, most notably illustrated by the work of William Clowes in East Yorkshire. Indeed, the first settlements in the region visited by the North Staffordshire missionaries in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were the small agricultural and semi-agricultural villages and squatter settlements on the fringe of the Cannock Chase. These settlements had been largely ignored by the Wesleyans and, therefore, the Primitives met very little competition. In the case studies undertaken in the following chapter it is shown that the inhabitants of these physically and socially isolated settlements were more receptive to the strong

evangelical style and content of the missionaries' message.

Consequently, the Primitive Methodists were more successful than the other Methodist connexions in establishing congregations in these smaller and sometimes semi-agricultural settlements which were not necessarily in the Black Country. Whereas the New Connexion had chapels in only two agricultural settlements, the Primitives had chapels in eight settlements which were Mixed Villages or Established Agricultural Towns. Of the settlements in which the Primitives had a presence, over one in five were agricultural. Indeed, the highest Primitive IA in the region was to be found in the Mixed Village of Quinton (46.58). Of the twenty settlements where the Primitives had an IA of over five, eight were not in the Black Country, demonstrating a more widespread presence throughout the region than the New Connexion had achieved.

Rowley Regis (29.90) and Darlaston (18.41) were the only Large Industrial Towns where the Primitives had over a third of the total attenders, with a percentage share of 34.64% and 41.20% respectively. They had a monopoly of worship in two Industrial Villages, Bentley (27.63) and Hasbury (22.98) and in Rushall (17.68) the Primitives obtained over 40% of the total attendance. Whereas the highest incidence of both Wesleyan and New

Connexion attendance was in the Industrial Towns and the Large Industrial Towns of the Black Country, five out of the eight settlements with the highest Primitive IAs were either Industrial Villages or Mixed Villages, ranging from Quinton (46.58) to Wheaton Aston (14.61). The reason the Primitive IA was higher in the Large Industrial Town (8.06) than the Industrial Village (7.61) was that they had a presence in approximately only half of the latter types but each Black Country "industrial town" had at least one Primitive place of worship. In the majority of the twelve Black Country settlements with IAs of over five, the Primitives had a PS of between 14% and 25%,[46] compared with the corresponding PS of the New Connexion of between 6% and 14%. Moreover, in the thirteen Black Country towns with both a Primitive and a New Connexion presence, the Primitives had higher congregations in eight

As with the other Methodist connexions, the Primitives had a very small presence in the Regional Centre (1.61). There was no chapel in Wolverhampton West, and in Dudley the attendance levels of the Primitives were less than the other two Connexions. In Birmingham, because of the Primitives' greater propensity towards smaller and less urban settlements, their attendance levels were even smaller than the meagre ones enjoyed by the Wesleyans and the New Connexion.[47]

They had greater success than the other connexions in attracting worshippers in the smaller and less urban settlements. They had consistently a higher share of the total number of worshippers in that part of the Black Country within a five mile radius of Dudley, the heartland of the New Connexion. Although more patchy, the highest IAs of the Primitives were to be found in the small industrial and semi-industrial settlements in the north of the region west of Walsall on the fringe of the developing Cannock Chase coalfield, that part of the region where they had their earliest successes at the beginning of the century.

There were a small number of Methodist congregations in the region which were not attached to the three Connexions. The Wesleyan Reformers, who had recently seceded from the Wesleyan Methodists following the expulsions of Everitt, Griffith and Dunn, were represented by just two congregations, both located within the Borough of Birmingham.

The congregation at Nechalls Green chapel, which had previously been Wesleyan, had joined the Reformers as one body. There were three services held there on Census Sunday attracting a total of 390 attendances. The chapel was at least two thirds full during both the morning and afternoon services.[48] There was also a Wesleyan Reform Preaching Room in the St. Thomas' district of Birmingham which had only recently been

opened. Although there were approximately 120 sittings, there was just an evening service, attracting a congregation of twenty-five.[49]

The Wesleyan Methodist Association, who later joined with the Reformers to form the United Methodist Free Churches, also had a chapel in Birmingham, which attracted a total of 1159 attendances at its morning and evening services, almost three times the aggregate attendance at the places of worship of the Reformers.[50]

There was only one example in the Black Country of a chapel which had seceded from the Wesleyans but not part of either the Primitive or New Connexions. The Gospel Refugees, "a society lately formed of the Methodist Creed, since carried on by unpaid minister", worshipped at the Refuge Chapel in Waterloo Street, Tipton. There were 390 attendances at the three services, with no service filling less than two-thirds of the chapel.[51] There were only a handful of Methodist chapels in the region, which had no Wesleyan antecedents. There were two Countess of Huntington chapels in Kings Norton and the St. Phillip's district of Birmingham, and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists had congregations in Bilston and the St Thomas' and All Saints districts of Birmingham.[52]

2.5 Denominational Distribution: The Baptists, the Independents, the Catholics and the Unitarians.

Table 2.5.1 shows the regional IA and PS for the Baptists, Independents,[53] Catholics and Unitarians, the strongest non-Anglican, non-Methodist denominations in the region.[54] Tables 2.5.2 and 2.5.3 show separately each individual district's IA and PS for these denominations.

Table 2.5.1

DENOM.	IA	PS
Baptist	3.49	7.4%
Independent	3.46	7.3%
Catholic	3.20	6.8%
Unitarian	0.51	1.1%

Table 2.5.2

REG. DIST.	BAP	IND	CAT	UNI
Dudley	6.89	3.57	2.05	0
Aston	4.51	2.15	4.51	0
Birmingham	3.85	3.81	5.00	1.44
Walsall	2.68	2.08	4.34	0
Kings Norton	2.47	1.47	0	1.22
West Bromwich	2.40	6.09	0.84	0.25
Wolverhampton	1.79	2.51	3.39	0
Stourbridge	1.45	4.35	1.45	0.66
Penkridge	0	3.80	4.35	0

Table 2.5.3

REG. DIST.	BAP	IND	CAT	UNI
Dudley	10.5%	5.5%	3.1%	0
Aston	13.4%	6.4%	13.4%	0
Birmingham	9.3%	9.2%	12.0%	3.5%
Walsall	6.3%	4.9%	10.2%	0
Kings Norton	7.0%	4.2%	0	3.5%
West Bromwich	4.9%	12.4%	1.7%	0.5%
Wolverhampton	3.9%	5.4%	7.4%	0
Stourbridge	2.6%	7.9%	2.6%	1.2%
Penkridge	0	7.6%	8.7%	0

The Independents had congregations in all districts whereas the Baptists and Catholics were unrepresented in Penkridge and Kings Norton respectively. The Unitarians had chapels in only four of the nine registration districts. A Baptist IA of over ten was achieved in one of the registration districts, namely Dudley, which, with Aston, was the only district where over one in ten worshippers attended a Baptist chapel. This may reflect the long tradition of the Baptists in Netherton, the oldest congregation in the region dating back to the seventeenth century.[55]

Whereas Methodist attendance levels in the industrial areas were highest in the Black Country and lowest in Birmingham and Aston, apart from Dudley, the Baptists had their highest attendance levels in Birmingham and Aston. Ell suggests that the older forms of dissent, especially the Baptists, rather than the Methodists prospered from the neglect of the Church of England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the fast growing industrial parishes of Warwickshire.[56]

Only twenty-nine of the region's settlements had a Baptist presence, the highest IA being in Lapal (40.64), near Halesowen, where they were the only denomination.[57] Like the Methodists, the Baptists were to be found largely in industrial settlements. Whilst a third of those settlements with a Methodist congregation were agricultural, only three out of the

twenty-nine settlements with a Baptist chapel were not industrial, even though the highest Baptist IA was located in an agricultural settlement.[58] Whereas the greatest incidence of Methodism was found in the industrial towns of the Black Country, the highest Baptist IAs were either in the sub-districts of Birmingham or the surrounding settlements.

Unlike the Baptists or the Methodists, the Independents were distributed evenly throughout Birmingham and the Black Country and, indeed, proportionately throughout the surrounding rural area. In addition, population size had little bearing on the Independents' levels of attendance within a settlement. West Bromwich was the only district with an Independent IA of over five, and where over 10% of total worshippers attended an Independent chapel. In the other districts the IAs ranged between 1.5 and 4.5, and the Independents gained a PS of between 4-9%.

Of the thirty-four settlements with an Independent chapel, twenty-six were industrial. However, five out of the seven settlements with Independent IAs above ten, Wombourn (29.3), Halesowen (26.1), Wheaton Aston (24.72), Brownhills (17.56) and Cannock (11.77), had a long tradition of both industry and agriculture, reflecting the high level of missionary work carried out by neighbouring town chapels and their appeal to the small, independent artisans found in these

settlements. Indeed, in Wombourn, Wheaton Aston and Brownhills, the Independents accounted for approximately half the total number of worshippers. The other two settlements, St Peter's (23.67) and St Mary's (9.94), were sub-districts of Birmingham which demonstrates the greater popularity and long tradition of old dissent in the town.

Apart from the Established Agricultural Towns of Brewood (18.68) and Sutton Coldfield (5.36), the Catholics were concentrated in the industrial settlements as a result of the influx of Irish workers, especially into the Large Industrial Towns and Regional Centres. They had their highest IAs and PSs in the north and east of the region. In Aston, the Catholic IA was higher than the total Methodist IA and in Birmingham, it was almost equivalent, yet in the districts of Dudley, Stourbridge and West Bromwich their presence was minimal. They did have, however, higher attendance levels in Penkridge, Walsall and Wolverhampton, indicating the existence of important isolated Catholic communities.

Seventeen settlements in the region had a Catholic presence, centred predominantly on the Regional Centres of Birmingham, the highest St Paul's (37.76) included the Catholic cathedral of St Chad's, and Wolverhampton, Wolverhampton West (11.90), which had by far the largest Catholic populations in the region on account

of not only the large number of Irish immigrants but also a significant resident population of English Catholics.[59] Three other settlements, Brewood. Walsall foreign (13.26) and Aston (11.20) had Catholic IAs of over ten which was the result of the influence of large Catholic families in the area. Not surprisingly, over half the worshippers in St Paul's were Catholic, but in four other settlements, including Brewood, Walsall and Aston, Catholic congregations accounted for over a quarter of the total attenders.

The Unitarians had chapels in nine settlements throughout the region, concentrated in Birmingham and the surrounding industrial towns. This reflected the almost totally urban nature of Unitarianism and its significant influence in the town of Birmingham over the previous century because of its popularity with large parts of the town's industrial, intellectual and scientific elite.

They had no presence at all in the north of the region. Only in Birmingham and Kings Norton did more than one person in a hundred attend a Unitarian chapel. The highest Unitarian IA was in Cradley (10.43), where they accounted for over a sixth of all worshippers. Four out of the nine sub-districts of Birmingham had at least one Unitarian chapel, with IAs ranging from 1.44 to 7.92, and a PS of between 4-12%. Apart from Birmingham, the Unitarians had chapels in a number of towns and

villages in the south-west of the region, including Harbourn (6.17); Kings Norton (2.98); Oldbury (1.65) and Lye (0.42).

Table 2.5.4

TYPE	BAP	IND	CAT	UNI
LARGE IND TOWN	4.62	3.10	2.39	0.06
REG CENTRE	3.62	3.79	4.63	0.96
EST AGR TOWN	2.55	6.28	3.38	0.86
IND TOWN	0.86	3.75	0	1.01
EST IND TOWN	1.51	2.37	4.43	0
AGR VILLAGE	1.40	1.40	1.40	0
IND VILLAGE	1.06	3.46	0	0
MIXED VILLAGE	0	7.14	1.27	1.07

Table 2.5.4 shows the IAs of the four denominations when the settlements were identified by type. Twenty-one of the twenty-nine settlements with a Baptist presence were either Large Industrial Towns or part of a Regional Centre. This high proportion indicates that they were not only more established in industrial settlements but were basically an urban phenomenon.[60]

The Baptists had a presence in nearly all the industrial settlements within the region with populations of over 10,000, save Darlaston. The Large Industrial Town (4.62) had the highest IAs. Apart from Lapal, there was almost no Baptist attendance in those settlements with under 2,500 inhabitants. The Baptists, therefore, were an almost exclusively industrial and urban denomination, whose attendance levels were as high, if not higher in Birmingham and the surrounding

settlements than in the Black Country. Moreover, their share of worshippers in Birmingham was in some cases more than three times higher than in the Black Country. However, this pattern was not repeated across the country or, indeed, the county of Warwickshire where there had been a Baptist tradition in the smaller towns and rural villages.[61]

Whereas the Independents were highly represented in the Mixed Village (7.14), Established Agricultural Towns (6.28) and had some presence in the Industrial Village (3.46), they had only one chapel in either an Agricultural Village or Agricultural Hamlet. This suggests that they had a greater propensity to establish a congregation in agricultural settlements which also had some form of industry, usually traditional industry which predated the Industrial Revolution. They had a presence in all the Regional Centres, including Wolverhampton East and four sub-districts of Birmingham. Their lack of success, however, in the Large Industrial Towns and Agricultural Villages and Hamlets, may have been due to the domination of the Methodists in the towns of the Black Country and of the Anglicans in the rural parishes. The Independents appear to have done best in the smaller settlements which, although basically agricultural, had some form of industry.

No settlement type had a Catholic IA of above five and the highest incidence of attendance was located in the settlements with the largest populations. They had hardly any presence in the settlements with under 2,500 people. The greatest factor which affected the distribution of Unitarian attendance appears to have been locational with the majority of their chapels concentrated in one area, namely Birmingham. Because of this concentration and the few Unitarian chapels in the region, any analysis of settlement type is not very conclusive. The Mixed Village, with an IA of barely over one, had the highest incidence, but there is no apparent relationship between Unitarian attendance and settlement type save that they had no presence at all in the totally agricultural settlements.

Approximately 3% of all the places of worship within the region belonged to those groups or denominations not yet considered, and slightly under 3% of the region's total number of attendances were at places of worship which were not Anglican, Methodist[62], Independent, Congregational, Catholic or Unitarian. The vast majority of these places of worship were located in the three Regional Centres, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Dudley, with the latter having the highest number. However, only the Jews, the sole non-Christian body, were represented in all three settlements.[63] This bias towards the largest settlements is demonstrated when the IA and PS for the

aggregate of these less popular groups and denominations are calculated for the nine Registration Districts in the region as in Table 2.2.5.

Table 2.2.5

REG DIST	IA	PS
Birmingham	4.08	9.8%
Wolverhampton	2.52	5.4%
Dudley	2.29	3.5%
West Bromwich	1.13	2.3%
Stourbridge	0.94	1.7%
Kings Norton	0.37	1.3%
Aston	0.27	0.8%
Penkridge	0.16	0.7%
Walsall	0.00	0.0%

Only Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Dudley have IAs of over two, and a PS of more than 3%. Although the Registration Districts of Wolverhampton and Dudley contained more settlements than the two Regional Centres, the more marginal denominations were almost exclusively located therein.[64] Despite its lower overall level of attendance, Birmingham had, by far, the largest variety of denominations, including representatives from the Swedenborgians, the Presbyterians and the Christian Brethren and the Catholic and Apostolic church.[65]

One of the two Friends meeting houses in the region was located in Birmingham, at Bull Street, the other being in Stourbridge. There were 430 attendances at the two services held at Bull Street on Census Sunday[66], which appears surprisingly low considering the level of

influence exerted by some Quakers on the economic and social development of the town during the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth.[67] The only one of these more marginal denominations with a presence in the region, but not in Birmingham, were the Mormons who had congregations in Wombourn, Wolverhampton and Stourbridge.[68]

The presence of these smaller denominations in the region, therefore, was largely insignificant. It would appear that, the larger the population of a settlement, the greater the amount of competition, in terms of different denominations. These smaller denominations had less than one attendance in forty in all the registration districts, except those containing a Regional Centre. It was only in Birmingham, however, that these denominations approached 10% of the total number of attendances, twice as much as the district with the next highest percentage, Wolverhampton.

2.6 The Provision of Free Seating

During the first half of the nineteenth century, all denominations made concerted efforts to provide sufficient accommodation for the growing population. More importantly, however, this provision not only had to be plentiful but cheap or, even better, free.

By 1851, 54.1% of all the region's religious accommodation was free,[69] but despite the efforts of the Anglicans only the Baptists had a lower proportion of free sittings. Nevertheless, all denominations had at least two free sittings for every three appropriated ones. Indeed, almost three out of every four sittings in a Catholic and a Primitive Methodist chapel were free.[70] The distribution of free accommodation was relatively even throughout the region's registration districts, ranging from 45% to 60%. The highest proportions were located in the region's most rural districts, King's Norton (60%) and Penkridge (58%), and the lowest in the industrial district of Dudley (45%),[71] due largely to the high level of free Methodist accommodation in the more rural districts.[72] This was partially a result of both the missionary strategies employed by the various Methodist connexions in these districts and their relatively small congregations which occasionally were accommodated in a member's house or some other location with few financial overheads. In King's Norton, Methodist free

sittings accounted for only 3.3% of the population. However, in the two districts within the region with the highest level of Methodist missionary activity, 11% of Penkridge's inhabitants, and 8.6% of Walsall's, could be accommodated in the free sittings in the Methodist chapels, demonstrating the high level of missionary work carried out by all the Methodist connexions in the newly created Industrial Villages on the Cannock Chase coalfield. Examples of similar missionary work are examined in more detail during the analysis of the case studies in the following chapter.

Within the region there was a very significant negative correlation between the level of free Methodist accommodation and the degree of industry within a district. More significantly, however, this level was at its lowest in the districts of West Bromwich, Dudley and Stourbridge,[73] where both the chapels and the congregations were more established. A larger proportion of the congregation, especially the membership, would have been more willing to pay for their seats not only to aid recruitment but to build and maintain their presence within the local community by building a larger and more expensive chapel.[74]

The level of Anglican free accommodation ranged throughout the region from Walsall (42.0%) to Stourbridge (56.8%)[75], indicating that the recommendation of the 1818 Church Building Act, that at

least 60% of all sittings in new Anglican churches should be free, was having some success in increasing the level of free accommodation. The various church building initiatives in the first half of the nineteenth century had resulted, therefore, in at least two free Anglican sittings out of every five throughout the region. Although free outnumbered appropriated sittings in only two districts and despite the almost haphazard mix of private and public money in the funding of church building, by 1851 the level of free accommodation was relatively uniform throughout the region.

Table 2.6.1

TYPE	COE %	METH %	OTH %	TOT %
IND. VILLAGE	64.6	87.6	100	82.6
MIXED VILLAGE	55.9	82.9	75.2	71.8
EST. AGR. TOWN	38.7	74.2	81.1	67.5
IND. TOWN	40.7	61.3	47.8	51.2
LARGE IND. TOWN	45.5	50.1	47.5	48.9
AGR. VILLAGE	46.0	61.3	20.0	47.1
AGR. HAMLET	28.2	61.3	100	46.4
REGIONAL CENTRE	49.7	50.6	40.4	46.0
EST. IND. TOWN	33.1	37.5	47.9	41.0

Table 2.6.1 shows the proportion of Anglican, Methodist and the other denominations' free accommodation in 1851 in each of the region's settlement types. The missionary strategy of not only the Methodists but all denominations in the smallest industrial and semi-industrial settlements is demonstrated by the very high proportion of free sittings there. In both the Industrial Villages and the Mixed Villages, more than seven sittings out of every ten were free.

The Methodists had more free than appropriated sittings in all types of settlement save the Established Industrial Towns, where a large proportion of their most established chapels were located. Furthermore, whereas both the Large Industrial Towns and the Regional Centres had only slightly more free sittings, in all settlement types with less than 10,000 inhabitants more than three out of every five sittings were free.

The Anglicans only achieved a larger number of free than appropriated sittings in the Mixed and Industrial Villages. On the other hand, in the settlement types which had experienced the lowest population growth over the previous fifty years, the Agricultural Hamlet and the Established Agricultural Town, together with the Established Industrial Town, less than two out of five sittings in Anglican churches were free, verifying that additional resources had indeed been channelled to the growing industrial settlements. There were only slightly more appropriated sittings in the Regional Centres than in the Large Industrial towns, suggesting that the church building schemes in Wolverhampton and Birmingham were only partially successful.

2.7 The Incidence of Services on Census Sunday throughout the region.

One factor which has not yet been considered when analysing the regional returns of the 1851 Religious Census is the number of services held at each place of worship on Census Sunday. There is no indication from the comments of the schedules of the Regional returns of the Census that a lack of services at an individual church or chapel resulted in a lower level of attendance. Rather the most common reasons given for lower attendances on Census Sunday were bad weather and the tradition of visiting relatives on Mothering Sunday.

Nevertheless, the availability of worship may have had a significant bearing on the level of attendance of a settlement or at an individual church or chapel. In other words, there may be some positive correlation between a settlement's Average Incidence of Service (AIS)[76] and its Index of Attendance (IA), relative to the other settlements within the region. The AIS for the region is 2.18, with the non-Anglican denominations -Methodist (2.38), Baptist and Independent (2.51) - having a higher AIS than the Anglicans (1.93).

One reason for a higher Methodist AIS was the historical development of Methodism over the previous hundred years. According to John Wesley, Methodist

meetings were not to be considered as an alternative to the Anglican service, rather they were to act as a supplement to it. Consequently, Methodist meetings were held on a Sunday at times which did not clash with the services at the parish church, most commonly in the evening.[77]

However, throughout the eighteenth century and, most particularly, the first half of the nineteenth century after Wesley's death, Methodism was developing into a separate devotional system and Methodists were detaching themselves from the Church of England, both spiritually and physically. Despite the existence of a number of Methodists in 1851 who were still attending church in the morning and chapel in the afternoon or evening, more Methodists were using their own meetings as the exclusive centre of their public devotion.[78] Consequently, by 1851, Methodists were holding their meetings not only in the evenings but also at times which clashed with Anglican worship, making available services in the morning, afternoon and evening. This development was aided by the growth of permanent meeting houses and the increase in the number of local preachers.[79]

The AIS recorded for the region's settlements ranged from 1.00 -Huntington, Coppenhall, Lapley and Walsall Wood- to 3.00 -Cheslyn Hay, Edgbaston and Halesowen. An average of two or more services were carried out in

over 80% of the region's settlements irrespective of denomination. At forty-two of the eighty-seven identified settlements within the region the AIS was over two, with thirty settlements having an average of two services.

Table 2.7.1

AIS	CoE	METH	BAP/IND	TOT
1-1.99	18.84%	5.26%	6.06%	18.18%
2	59.42%	33.33%	33.69%	38.96%
2.01-3	18.84%	61.40%	54.54%	42.86%

Table 2.7.1 indicates the percentage of settlements which had an overall AIS, and those for the Anglicans, the Methodists and the aggregated Baptists and Independents, of less than two, more than two and exactly two. It indicates that the denominational distribution of the AIS within the region differed significantly for the Anglicans and the Methodists.

The Church of England held two services in almost two-thirds of the settlements with an Anglican presence, including all eleven of the region's Agricultural Villages with an Anglican monopoly.[80] By contrast, the Methodists held two services in only one-third of the settlements with a Methodist presence. Conversely, the Methodists had an AIS of two or more in over half of the settlements where they had a presence, whereas the Church of England only recorded a similar AIS in one in five of the settlements with an Anglican presence.

Initially it would appear that the AIS of a settlement was a very significant factor in the determination of its IA. All those settlements with an AIS of 1.00 also had IAs of less than 30, with Dunstan (16.99) and Walsall Wood (19.09) having two of the lowest IAs in the region. Conversely, two of the three settlements with an AIS of 3.00, Cheslyn Hay (75.22) and Halesowen (82.96), were amongst those settlements with the largest IAs in the region, Edgbaston (20.28) being the exception.

Furthermore, out of the ten settlements with the highest AISs six had IAs of over fifty, and only two had an IA of less than forty. At the other extreme, only three of the ten settlements with the lowest AISs had IAs over fifty, and seven less than forty. However, the positive correlation between the level of attendance and the average incidence of service becomes less clear when examining those settlements within the region where these two indices are not at their highest or lowest.

Although it might be assumed that a low AIS signified little religious activity, in terms of Sunday services, because of neglect, apathy or some other reason, there are examples of settlements with a low number of services but a high IA. In Sutton Coldfield, the low AIS was a direct result of dynamic religious activity, as the Vicar of the parish, encouraged by the town's

council, held a number of single services in school buildings around the parish in order to meet the demands of the parish and to attract more attenders.[81]

Therefore, a low AIS in a settlement does not necessarily mean a lower level of religious activity, in terms of the provision of Sunday service, especially in those industrial settlements where the demands of an expanding population resulted in the provision of extra accommodation in the form of additional buildings. The AIS would be the same in a settlement with an Anglican church, offering two services, as in a settlement with an Anglican church offering three services and using a licensed place of worship offering only one service in another part of the settlement.

There is a clear urban/rural divide when analysing the AISs of the settlements within the region. Only three settlements, the Established Agricultural Towns of Tettenhall (2.50), Cannock (2.43) and King's Norton (2.23), out of the thirty-four settlements with an AIS of more than two, could be described as totally agricultural.

No Agricultural Village or Agricultural Hamlet in the region had an AIS of more than two. Indeed, six of the nine settlements with the lowest AISs were Agricultural Hamlets, suggesting that the AIS increased with the level of population. This may have been the result of

the falling rate of population in these isolated rural areas throughout the first half of the nineteenth century causing such a dramatic fall in the size of congregation that only one service was required. Gill argues that, by the second half of the nineteenth century, in parts of rural Wales the population had fallen so greatly during this period that the seating capacity had exceeded the local population.[82]

In some sparsely populated parts of the region services at two Anglican places of worship were undertaken by the same clergyman. Both the chapels of ease at King's Norton and nearby Wythall shared the same curate who performed Sunday morning and afternoon services alternately at each venue. The vicar of Brewood, in the Penkridge district, also performed alternate morning and afternoon services at the chapels of ease at Coven and Bishop's Wood. This was a duty carried out by the vicar at the neighbouring parish of Acton Trussell at the parish church and the chapel of ease at Bednall.[83]

However, the fact that one clergyman undertook a number of services at different venues on the same day did not necessarily mean that fewer services would be held at each place of worship. In the Ecclesiastical District of Coseley, within the urban parish of Sedgley, the curate, William Ford Vance, not only held a morning and an afternoon service at Christ Church chapel of ease, but also officiated at three services at a school room

in West Coseley and an evening service at a school room in Princes End, an indication perhaps of the greater demands of an urban parish and the greater commitment of at least this Anglican Evangelical to Sunday service.[84]

The Industrial Villages of Walsall Wood (1.00) and Rushall (1.75), and the Industrial Town of Wednesbury (1.93), were the only urban settlements to record an AIS of less than two services, with all the AISs of the Regional Centres and Large Industrial Towns exceeding 2.12. This distinct pattern of the incidence of service can be more easily identified in tables 2.7.2 and 2.7.3 which show the overall AISs and those of the designated denominations, with respect to registration district and settlement type.

Table 2.7.2

REG. DIST.	ANG.	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
Stourbridge	2.03	2.83	2.50	2.62
Dudley	2.08	2.74	2.54	2.57
West Bromwich	2.05	2.33	2.36	2.29
Wolverhampton	2.08	2.55	2.28	2.28
Birmingham	2.20	2.40	2.38	2.23
Kings Norton	2.11	2.36	2.30	2.21
Aston	2.28	2.26	2.17	2.13
Walsall	2.31	2.15	2.13	2.12
Penkridge	1.58	2.21	1.78	1.70

Table 2.7.3

SETT TYPE	ANG	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
Est. Ind. Town	2.50	3.00	2.50	2.54
Large Ind. Town	2.36	2.58	2.42	2.51
Regional Centre	2.19	2.63	2.34	2.36
Ind Town	1.89	2.46	2.25	2.23
Mixed Village	1.86	2.50	2.03	2.13
Est. Ag. Town	1.68	2.34	2.06	2.06
Ind. Village	1.50	2.17	2.07	2.02
Ag. Village	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.97
Ag. Hamlet	1.43	1.66	n/a	1.27

In Table 2.7.2, the registration districts with the highest AISs were largely industrial rather than agricultural. Conversely, the greater the level of agriculture and the lower the level of population density, the lower the AIS, a pattern which is even more readily identifiable in Table 2.7.3. The lowest AISs were found in the Agricultural Hamlet (1.27) and Agricultural Village (1.97) and, apart from the Established Industrial Town (2.54), the highest AISs occurred in those industrial settlement types with the largest populations.

This distinct pattern, however, may not have been the result of the levels of industrialisation or population but denominational distribution. In all the registration districts, apart from Walsall and Aston, and all settlement types, except the Agricultural Village, the AIS of the non-Anglican denominations was higher than that of the Church of England.

Furthermore, the difference between the AISs of the Anglicans and the other denominations was significantly

higher in the Black Country districts than in the rest of the region. The Methodists AIS ranged between 2.33 and 2.83 in the districts of Wolverhampton, Stourbridge, Dudley and West Bromwich, compared with the Church of England whose AIS in the same districts ranged between 2.03 and 2.08. Whereas the vast majority of the Anglican churches in these districts offered two services on a Sunday without recourse to additional services elsewhere in licensed preaching rooms, the majority of Methodist places of worship held services in the morning, afternoon and evening.

The two registration districts with the highest AISs, namely Stourbridge (2.62) and Dudley (2.57), were the areas where the Methodists had their highest IAs. However, there is no clear correlation between the Methodist AISs and IAs for a particular district. The chapels in both Birmingham (2.40) and King's Norton (2.36) had higher AISs than West Bromwich (2.33) despite a much larger Methodist IA in the latter. Indeed, the slightly higher overall AIS in West Bromwich (2.29) than in Birmingham (2.23) and Kings Norton (2.21) was not the result of higher denominational AISs in West Bromwich but a larger proportion of Methodist chapels, which were likelier to hold three services, in that district than in either Birmingham or Kings Norton.

Similarly, there is no distinct relation between the Anglican IAs recorded in each district and the corresponding AIS, with Penkridge (1.58) having the lowest Anglican AIS but by far the highest Anglican IA. On the other hand, Walsall (2.31) had the highest Anglican AIS yet still recorded one of the lowest Anglican IAs. However, there appears to be a greater correlation for the Baptists and Independents, with Dudley (2.54) having both the highest combined IA and AIS, and Penkridge (1.78) having the lowest. This reflects the concentration of these denominations in the urban parts of the region and the consequent demand.

Throughout the region, the Average Incidence of Service (AIS) was significantly higher in the industrial settlements than in the agricultural ones, a tendency which may help explain the unusual regional attendance patterns identified earlier in this chapter. In short, there were generally more services in the most industrialised settlements of the region and this may have contributed significantly to the tendency for the level of religious attendances to be higher in the urban rather than the neighbouring rural settlements.

Moreover, the AISs of the Anglicans and the non-Anglican denominations were not similar, with the Methodists, most significantly given their large presence in the region, on average offering more

opportunity for worship than the Anglicans. The Methodists recorded the highest levels of attendance in the most industrial settlements within the region, especially in the Black Country. Consequently, there would have been a greater opportunity for the inhabitants of the region's industrial settlements to attend a place of worship on Census Sunday because of the greater presence of the Methodists and, to a lesser extent, the Baptists and the Independents in these settlements.

However, when settlement types are examined, there is a clear positive correlation between the AIS of a settlement and its population level, that is, the larger the population the greater the AIS. To be sure, the highest AISs were recorded in the wholly industrial settlement types, namely the Established Industrial Town, the Large Industrial Town and the Regional Centre, and the lowest AISs were recorded in the wholly agricultural settlement types, namely the Agricultural Hamlet and Village> However, the strong correlation would suggest that the level of population was as important a factor in a settlement's AIS as was the extent of industrialisation. The incidence of service within a settlement, therefore, may have simply been a response to the demand for Sunday worship.

Previous studies of the 1851 Religious Census have not included within their methodology an analysis of the

incidence of Sunday service as one of the possible contributory factors in determining levels of attendance. Until the findings of this study, therefore, are tested by further regional research, it would be inappropriate to make any claims regarding their uniqueness or typicality.

2.8 Conclusion

Regional Findings

The regional returns of the 1851 Religious Census reveal three distinctive features concerning religious attendance and accommodation in the region compared with the national patterns.

Firstly, the overall attendance was far lower than the national average. Indeed, the IA for a region with a significant rural element was lower than Inglis' average IA for large industrial towns with over 10,000 inhabitants (49.7). However, the IA for a number of the region's largest industrial settlements, including Dudley, West Bromwich and Bilston, was over 50.

Secondly, there was a general lack of accommodation within the region. The majority of settlements did not have the 58% accommodation level which Mann thought sufficient to house those who were able to attend. Indeed, in all the different settlement types with more than six hundred inhabitants this percentage was not achieved.

Thirdly, throughout the region, attendance levels were higher in the industrial districts than in the neighbouring agricultural districts. Although the Black Country had a far higher rate of attendance than Birmingham, the levels in the surrounding rural area to

the east of the region were comparatively lower than those to the west and north.

One of the major reasons for these patterns was the relatively poor performance of the Church of England throughout the region. Whereas the Anglicans nationally had almost half of the total number of worshippers, their percentage share in the region was less than 40%. Although the Anglicans achieved their highest attendance levels in the countryside, their IA was above 25 in only one registration district, Penkridge, where they accounted for over 50% of attenders. The Church of England also had over half the total worshippers in Kings Norton and Aston, but this was due to the poor performance of the other denominations rather than high Anglican attendance, resulting in a very low overall level of attendance in the rural east of the region.

The Anglicans achieved higher attendance levels in the Agricultural Village than in any other settlement type, especially in those settlements with an Anglican monopoly. There happened to be a greater number of this type of settlement in the Penkridge and Wolverhampton districts, yet even in the two Agricultural Villages with Anglican monopolies, Wishaw and Saltley, located in the east of the region, the IA was lower than in other similar settlements. Low Anglican attendance levels were recorded in all the different types of

industrial settlements, especially the Industrial Village, the Large Industrial Town and the Regional Centre.

The overall regional IA for the Methodists was nearly as high as that of the Anglicans. Furthermore, the Methodists appear to have attracted their largest congregations in the districts where the Anglicans had their least influence. Over half the worshippers in the Dudley district attended a Methodist chapel and the proportion in Stourbridge, West Bromwich and Walsall was over 40%.

Generally, therefore, throughout the region the Anglicans had their highest IAs in the small agricultural settlements and lowest IAs in the large industrial settlements. Conversely, the Methodists had their highest IAs in the large industrial settlements and lowest in the small agricultural settlements. It is the result of these two almost totally inverted distributions which has produced the region's unusual attendance patterns.

The Methodists, however, had a much smaller presence in the Birmingham area which, nevertheless, included a significant number of Large Industrial Towns and the largest settlement in the region. Throughout the region the Regional Centres had lower Methodist IAs than the Large Industrial Towns. Even in Dudley, the apparent

heart of Black Country Methodism, the Methodist IA was lower than in surrounding smaller towns.

Older forms of non-conformity, including the Baptists and the Congregationalists, had already established congregations in the towns of Birmingham, Dudley and Wolverhampton before the Methodists arrived. To a great extent these non-conformists, especially the Baptists, performed best in the same urban setting as the Methodists, and, hence, they would be a source of competition to the Methodists in attracting those people disaffected by, or uninterested in the Anglicans. It may have been the success or otherwise of these older forms of non-conformity which determined whether an industrial area had higher attendance levels than its surrounding rural area.

Although Methodism was far more popular in the Black Country than in Birmingham, the level of Methodist attendance depended upon the type of settlement. Each connexion was well represented but the distribution of the connexions varied in the Black Country. Both the Wesleyans and the Primitives had their highest IAs in the Large Industrial Towns, with a significant presence in the Mixed Villages, and their lowest IAs in the more established towns and the Regional Centres. The New Connexion, however, prospered more in the smaller Industrial Towns and Villages and there was a smaller difference between the attendance levels of the Large

Industrial Town and the Regional Centre than was the case with the Wesleyans. It is not sufficient, therefore, to argue that the Methodists had higher attendance levels in the industrial than the agricultural settlements or even, in the case of the West Midlands, in the Black Country rather than Birmingham. Within these industrial areas the incidence of Methodist attendance differed for each separate connexion in differing types of settlement.

The Anglicans, on the other hand, performed better in the agricultural areas, but even the Anglican pattern of attendance differed according to the type of agricultural settlement. The regional Anglican attendances only approached the national average for rural areas in the Agricultural Villages and this may have been because a large proportion of these had an Anglican monopoly. The significantly higher Anglican levels of attendance in the rural districts to the west of the region was the result of the larger concentration of Agricultural Villages. Therefore, the most important factor determining Anglican attendance in the rural districts was settlement type, despite the fact that the rural settlements of the districts of Wolverhampton and Penkridge, in the west of the region, consistently recorded higher Anglican IAs than the rural settlements in the districts of Kings Norton and Aston, in the east of the region.

The returns of the 1851 Religious Census show that on Census Sunday the attendance levels for the region were much lower than the national average and that the usual industrial/agricultural divide did not exist. Attendances were higher in both Birmingham and the Black Country than in their respective surrounding rural area despite the significantly higher attendance levels in the Black Country because of the popularity of Methodism there. On the whole, attendances were higher in the rural north and west rather than the rural south and east, thus maintaining this unusual regional trend. Moreover, the churches and chapels were generally far more crowded in the industrial than in the agricultural districts. The churches and chapels in the poorer districts of Birmingham were more crowded than in the more wealthier parts of the town and, indeed, in the vast majority of settlements in the Black Country. Although attendance levels were considerably higher in the Black Country than Birmingham, it did not follow necessarily that the places of worship were fuller in the former.

Using the settlement typology it is possible to demonstrate that uniform or cognate attendance patterns were not experienced throughout the region or even in all the industrial or agricultural settlements. Given the findings of previous research, it is not surprising that the Anglicans had their highest incidence of attendance in the agricultural districts and the non-

conformists, especially the Methodists, in the industrial. However, the discovery that the Anglicans had significantly higher levels of attendance in the more populated Agricultural Village than the Agricultural Hamlet was less anticipated. Likewise, although the Methodists were more successful in the region's industrial towns than the Regional Centres, they had higher levels in industrial towns with over 10,000 inhabitants than in industrial towns of smaller size. Indeed, the medium-sized settlements with between 2,500 and 10,000 inhabitants had the smallest per capita proportion of worshippers attending any place of worship. Throughout the region, however, the most remarkable feature was the relatively low level of attendance in the Industrial Villages where, not only was the Anglican presence at a minimum, but the level of Methodist attendance was also very patchy and it was rare for more than one Methodist connexion to be represented.

The discernible patterns of attendance, especially in terms of denominational share, reflect broadly the religious development of the region since the onset of industrialisation and the distinctive histories of the varied denominations and traditions to be found in the region. The regional attendance patterns were indeed at times somewhat unusual but have been explained largely by an analysis based on denominational distribution and settlement type.

-CHAPTER TWO-

Methodological Issues

This regional analysis of religious attendance and provision in the mid-nineteenth century has been characterised by three main features. Firstly, the predominant source of evidence employed, namely the regional returns of the 1851 Religious Census, is of a static nature. Secondly, the principal spatial unit of investigation has been the settlement, as defined by an extensive typology. Finally, the region has been examined as an entity, and, therefore, not allowing a more critical and detailed analysis of religious attendance and provision at a local level.

It was necessary to use a static model, underpined by a very explicit settlement typology, to achieve the most complete and consistent analysis possible. The 1851 Religious Census is the only wide-ranging source of evidence of mid-nineteenth century attendance levels, and this, together with the employment of a settlement typology for the whole region, has made possible a most thorough and integral scrutiny of the regional patterns of attendance and accommodation. Nevertheless, such an analysis can be criticised as being too static and unconditional.

Any analysis using the Religious Census is restricted to one of church and chapel attendance exclusively on a Sunday, and the level of accommodation on March 30, 1851. Care, therefore, has been taken to narrow the

limits of the study so that the Census data was not used in an inappropriate manner, either to assess religious commitment as opposed to religious attendance and accommodation, or as the basis for an analysis over time. Only if other religious censuses had been taken with the same geographic scope and detailed information, either at ten yearly intervals or at any other time or times during the nineteenth century, would a comprehensive dynamic analysis of religious attendance and accommodation be possible, indicating whether the census returns were a typical representation of religious attendance and provision in the mid-nineteenth century.

In the case of religious attendance, it cannot be ascertained whether the 1851 figures represented a level which was maintained throughout the period, or whether they marked either a peak or trough. Moreover, it should not be assumed, even if it were possible to establish the 1851 figures within an overall pattern of religious attendance over time, that such patterns were either standard or national in nature. The analysis of the Census returns has revealed that one of the main reasons why the regional patterns varied markedly from the national was the distribution of denominations and the lack of consistency of denominational performance in differing settlement types.

Over a period of time, such variations and discrepancies would be magnified because denominational growth patterns were also not standard or national, and varied within the region and even within the same settlement type. Whereas some denominations may have grown during the mid-nineteenth century, indicated either by the building of new places of worship or an increasing level of membership, others may have experienced a fall in members and dwindling congregations in that region, yet be growing elsewhere. Indeed, many individual chapels of the same denomination in the same region may have had discrepant fortunes. Denominational patterns may have been so diverse that, although overall attendance was steady over time, there were contrasting denominational growth patterns, that is, as one denomination grew in an area the influence of another fell.

Another criticism of the methodology may be the rigid nature of the settlement typology. All identified settlements within the region have been regarded as discrete, and as having the necessary characteristics of one of the nine settlement types. It was expedient for all identified settlements to have a given population for the calculation of an IA. In order that consistency was maintained throughout the region, therefore, the categorisations used in the 1851 Population Census were the only criteria employed in

the initial delineation of the eighty-nine settlements.[85]

However, some of the identified settlements have previously been regarded as districts containing two or more smaller, conspicuous settlements. The most notable example in the region is the Industrial Town of Lye, which Hopkins identified as the three "industrial villages" of Lye, Lye Waste and Wollescote in his article concerning religious practice in the Black Country in the mid-nineteenth century.[86] There would have been a marked improvement in the aggregate IA for the settlement type if Lye had been regarded as three Industrial Villages. Consequently, the surprisingly low IA experienced in the Industrial Villages, may have been due to a coincidence that only small, discrete, industrial settlements with low IAs have been identified as Industrial Villages.

Other settlements may also be an amalgamation. Many of the Large Industrial Towns in the Black Country had developed from the growth of smaller settlements. For example, in the case study of Sedgley, the settlement will be sub-divided into nine "hamlets", all of which could have been regarded as discrete settlements if population figures for them existed. Moreover, the characteristics of these "hamlets" were not all the same, which inevitably made the identification of a settlement by type, using standardised criteria, more

problematic. Not all the settlements totally matched the criteria of only one type. For example, some larger industrial settlements, such as Sedgley, had a significant level of agriculture. In these cases, the settlement has been categorised as the type which it most resembled.

Despite these problems, however, the employment of the settlement typology has made possible a consistent regional analysis of religious attendance and provision. The only way that the characteristics of all eighty-nine settlements could have been perfectly matched with a certain type, was to create more categories which would have made such analysis nonsensical. There may have been some distinct settlements within the region which have not been identified. However, it is impossible to conduct a regional analysis of the returns of the 1851 Religious Census at a settlement level without the necessary population figures. Other local sources could be consulted to determine population on a smaller scale. Indeed, such an investigation is undertaken in the case study of Sedgley. However, similar population figures do not necessarily exist for all the region's settlements and such in-depth studies would be inappropriate in a regional analysis, if consistency was to be maintained.

[1] Some 600 returns for the registration districts of Penkridge (HO 129 378); Wolverhampton (HO 129 379); Walsall (HO 129 380); West Bromwich (HO 129 381);Dudley (HO 129 382); Stourbridge (HO 129 383); King's Norton (HO 129 393); Birmingham (HO 129 394) and Aston (HO 129 395).

[2] Throughout the whole of this thesis a "Sitting" represents the accommodation for one individual within a place of worship. This could have been a seat, either free or appropriated, part of a bench or pew, or even the space where people stood.

[3] This included the eighteen places in the region which received a late form, including ten Anglican; three Primitive Methodist; two Wesleyan Methodist; two Baptist and one Catholic place of worship.

[4] The incumbents of the eight Anglican, one Catholic and one Independent place of worship which did not have either attendance figures for Census Sunday or for the previous year all refused to fill in the return because of their opposition to the Census itself.

[5] There were some cases of inflated attendance figures also. Robson in G. Robson, "Methodists and the 1851 Census of Religious Worship in Birmingham and the Black Country", Wesley Historical Society, West Midlands Branch Bulletin, VOL II (1975), pp.94-98, cites a number of Methodist chapels in Sedgley being included in the Census more than once. Although Robson's claims are supported by the evidence of this study, all these chapels have been included in the initial analysis to maintain the consistency and integrity of the Religious Census as a source of evidence. If the chapels had been taken out, an awkward precedent would have been established as Census data would have to be altered should alternative evidence have shown that attendances at an individual church or chapel had been over or under estimated either by chance or deliberately.

[6] See explanations of these various formulae in the previous chapter pp.28-31. Attendance was estimated by the addition of all services held in each individual place of worship. The figures should, therefore, not be seen as an estimate of individual attenders on Census Sunday but as levels of attendance on that day.

[7] See Report of the Population Census, 1851, pp.64-78.

[8] The Overall Index of Attendance (IA) of each settlement within the region can be found in Appendix

3, pp.331-332.

9 K.S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL 11 1960, pp.74-96.

10 Wolverhampton; Walsall; West Bromwich; Dudley and Stourbridge.

11 King's Norton, Aston and Birmingham. It should be noted, however, that even this figure was greater than the one that both Inglis and Coleman give for Birmingham.

12 See for example B.I. Coleman, The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century: A Social Geography, (London, 1980); B.I. Coleman, "Southern England in the Census of Religious Worship", Southern History, VOL 5 (1983), pp.154-189; J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England, (London, 1971); For an account of the West Midlands see H. McLeod "Class, Community and Religion: The Religious Geography of nineteenth century England", in M. Hill (ed), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, Vol 6 (London, 1973).

13 See G. Robson, "Between Town and Countryside: Contrasting patterns of churchgoing in the Black Country," in D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL 16 (Oxford, 1979), p.96.

14 Nine other settlements: Harbourn (92.72); Rowley Regis (86.30); St Phillip's (83.22); Halesowen (82.96); Aldridge (81.59); Himley (77.50); Brewood (76.69); Sedgley (76.28) and Cheslyn Hay (75.23), had IAs of over 75. Apart from Aston, in which Curdworth (69.17) had the highest IA, each registration district had at least one settlement with an IA over 75.

15 The lower the score, the higher the position of the district's settlements within the region. This method has been adopted to indicate, without great statistical calculation, the uniformity of levels of attendance in, and the religious performance of, each district, in terms of attendance. The district IAs may be distorted by unusually high or low IAs in one or more of its settlements. By ranking the settlements, this distortion is lessened and attendance levels within the region can be compared relative to each other rather than within similar settlements in other regions.

16 See E. Hopkins, "Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages in the first half of the Nineteenth Century", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, (1983) VOL XXXIV No. 3, pp.411-424. This may have been due to the

location of the villages. Whereas Hopkins examined three villages in the south of the Black Country, the majority of identified Industrial Villages in this study were located to the north, on the fringe of the Black Country near Walsall.

[17] Yet Burrows argues that the rural parishes of Shropshire did not have as high IAs as some urban or industrial parishes in the country H. Burrows, "Religious provision and attendance in mid-nineteenth century Shropshire", M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1983), p.71.

[18] The overall Index of Accommodation (IAcc) for each settlement within the region can be found in Appendix 4, pp.333-334.

[19] See H. Mann, "On the statistical position of the Religious Bodies in England and Wales", Journal of the Statistical Society, VOL. XVII (1855).

[20] See Report of the Population Census, 1851, pp.64-78.

[21] Even neighbouring King's Norton, 1.50, had a density higher than all but one other agricultural settlement.

[22] The only Black Country settlements with density rates above 1.4 were Bilston, 1.71 and Rowley Regis, 1.70. Although individual sub-districts in Birmingham had higher density rates than those in Dudley, there was a more uniform density of congregations in Dudley, ranging from Rowley Regis to Tipton 1.23.

[23] Only two other Black Country settlements, Stourbridge 0.89 and Wednesbury 0.91 had density rates below one. The majority of Black Country settlements ranged between 1.1 and 1.4.

[24] Dunstan, Coppenhall and Lapley have all been identified as Agricultural Hamlets and Bednall as a Agricultural Village with a population of only 673. Apart from Lapley they represent a contiguous area in the north of the district much closer to the county town of Stafford than the industrial centre of Wolverhampton or even the agricultural centre of Penkridge.

[25] Six of the nine Agricultural Hamlets were in Penkridge. Of the other three, one was Bobbington which had the region's highest accommodation rate, and the other two were in Aston.

[26] The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Church

of England in those settlements with an Anglican presence can be found in Appendix 6, pp.344-345.

27 B.I. Coleman The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century: A Social Geography, (London, 1980), p.7. The Anglican's IA nationally was over three times as high as the next denomination, a trend which was not repeated in this region.

28 The reason for this pattern can only be found by detailed investigation of individual settlements and the social relationships therein, such as the case studies undertaken in the following chapter.

29 These include: the Regional Centre of Dudley, four sub-districts of Birmingham and one in Wolverhampton; the Large Towns of Oldbury, Duddeston and Tipton; the Industrial Towns of Lye and Aston; and the Industrial Villages of Walsall Wood and Langley.

30 Supporting the contention of McLeod op. cit..

31 The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Methodists in those settlements with an Methodist presence can be found in Appendix 7, pp.346-347.

32 70.73; an attendance level which accounted for 93.63% of the settlement's total attendance. The next highest MNC IA was in the Industrial Town of Lye (23.49) representing over a third of all worshippers.

33 Ironically, the New Connexion's stronghold of Cheslyn Hay (75.22) and Quinton (66.13), neither of which were in the Black Country, had the highest Methodist IAs In only two other settlements, Lye (50.19) and Rowley Regis (50.03), were Methodists IAs of over fifty. The lowest IAs were in Smethwick (1.19) and Sutton Coldfield (1.07).

34 These towns were Rowley Regis (50.03 -58%), Sedgley (40.57 -53%), Tipton (38.00 -63%), Darlaston (38.18 -86%), Oldbury (33.43 -61%), West Bromwich (30.36 -57%), Willenhall (26.85 -59%), Kingswinford (26.65 -54%) and Wednesbury (25.10 -50%).

35 Walsall Foreign (6.77 -17%), Deritend (3.81 -9%) and Duddeston (6.73 -26%).

36 IAs and PS's for the sub-districts of Wolverhampton and Birmingham were: Wolverhampton West (17.00 -26%), Wolverhampton East (4.16 -15%), St Martins (2.27 -6%), St Mary's (5.89 -8%), All Saints (7.36 -34%), St George's (8.51 -26%), St Thomas's (9.43 -32%) and St

Phillips (10.27 -12%).

[37] These Industrial Villages were Bentley (27.63 -100%), Huntington (25.95 -100%), Hasbury (22.98 -100%), Essington (22.52 -56%), Pelsall (19.88 -53%), Great Wyrley (17.84 -100%) and Rushall (17.68 -92%).

[38] Six out of the seven Established Agricultural Towns had Methodist IAs of between seven and seventeen, Cannock (16.86 -27%), Kinver (15.53 -27%), Tettenhall (9.84 -18%), Penkridge (8.78 -21%), Brewood (8.08 -11%) and Kings Norton (7.25 -20%).

[39] A Everitt, "Nonconformity in Country Parishes", Agricultural History Review Supplement, Vol XVIII (1970), pp.178-199.

[40] Only five of the nine Birmingham sub-districts had any Wesleyan presence, St Phillip's (10.27), St Thomas' (7.88), St George's (7.16), St Mary's (5.89) and All Saints (3.84).

[41] G. Robson, "The failures and successes: Working Class Evangelism in early Victorian Birmingham", in D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL 15 (1975), p.390.

[42] See R. Leese, "The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society 1742-1860", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester (1972), pp.189-213.

[43] They were,
Lye (23.49,-34.35%), Rowley Regis (13.47- 15.61%), Oldbury (10.40 -19.11%), Dudley (9.76, -18.42%), Sedgley (8.28 -10.86%), Kingswinford (7.37 -14.88%), Halesowen (7.19 -8.87%), Amblecote (7.19 -16.47%), Tipton (6.30 -10.54%) and Cradley (5.76 -9.15%).

[44] Including Stourbridge, (4.20, -8.08%), Wednesbury (3.92 -7.88%), Bilston (2.76, -4.76%), Willenhall (1.68 -3.71%), West Bromwich (1.63 -3.08%), Wolverhampton East (1.56 -5.42%).

[45] See Leese, op. cit..

[46] These settlements were, Rowley Regis (29.90 -34.64%), Darlaston (18.41 -40.41%), Lye (15.01 -21.96%), Halesowen (14.23 -17.16%), Oldbury (13.65 -25.08%), Tipton (9.86 -16.50%), Kingswinford (9.83 -19.86%), Bilston (9.39 -16.38%), West Bromwich (8.70 -16.42%), Willenhall (6.50 -14.38%); Sedgley (5.77 -7.56%) and Cradley (5.14 -8.17%).

[47] The Primitives had congregations in only two of the

nine Birmingham sub-districts, St George's (1.41) and St Thomas's (1.55). Moreover, in St George's, the Wesleyans had a chapel, and in St Thomas's, both the Wesleyans and the New Connexion had chapels, suggesting that the Primitives were only able to maintain even their small presence in Birmingham in districts where other Methodist connexions were established.

[48] HO 129 395/2/1. There were 150 sittings, all free, with 100 attenders in the morning, 60 in the afternoon and 130 in the evening. The Wesleyans also held services at Nechalls Green, where there were a total of 184 attendances.

[49] See HO 129 394/2/1.

[50] See HO 129 394/7/1.

[51] HO 129 382/2/1.

[52] HO 129 379/7/1; HO 129 393/1/2; HO 129 394/1/1, 2/1, 3/1.

[53] For the purposes of the regional analysis of the 1851 Religious Census, all forms of Independency, including Congregationalism, have been included under this general term, despite specific references to Congregational churches being made in the following chapter, and the development of Congregationalism in the West Midlands being examined in the previous chapter. In the returns of the 1851 Religious Census, congregations were identified as "Independent", "Congregationalist" or even "Independent or Congregationalist", It was felt that placing all within the same category would greatly simplify analysis of the returns.

[54] The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Baptists, Independents, Catholics and Unitarians can be found in Appendix 8, pp.348-350.

[55] M. Rowlands, The West Midlands from AD 1000, (New York, 1987) p.196.

[56] P.S. Ell, "A Quantitative Analysis of Variables allegedly influencing the Pattern of Religious Observance in 1851: A Case Study Warwickshire", M.A. Dissertation, University of Leicester (1989), p.68.

[57] Baptists IAs of over ten were recorded only in Rowley Regis (12.03), St Phillip's (11.78) and St Paul's (11.63). Only in Lapal (100%), St Paul's (45.13%), Walsall Foreign (21.45%), Duddeston (32.33%),

Kings Norton (23.35%), All Saints (35.62%) and Langley (25.51%), did their share of total attendance rise above one in five.

[58] The others were the Established Agricultural Towns of Kings Norton (8.42) and Sutton Coldfield (0.77).

[59] For a fuller discussion of this see the section on the religious development within the region in the previous chapter, pp.38-53.

[60] Of the nine sub-registration districts of Birmingham, six had Baptist congregations, St Phillip's (11.78 -14%), St Paul's (11.63 -45%), All Saints (7.75 -36%), St Martin's (5.74 -15%) and St George's (4.74 -15%). Apart from St. George's, these were all above the average for the region and the PS was only bettered by four other settlements. They had chapels in the two Large Industrial Towns near Birmingham: Deritend (3.17) and Duddeston (8.42).

[61] See Ell, op. cit., pp.35-45.

[62] The term Methodist includes the Wesleyans, the Primitives, the New Connexion, the Wesleyan Reformers and Association, the Gospel Refugees, the Countess of Huntington and the Calvinists.

[63] HO 129 379/5/1; 382/4/1; 394/2/1.

[64] The only other settlement with more than one place of worship belonging to these denominations was the Established Industrial Town of Stourbridge, which had both a Quaker and a Mormon congregation. See HO 129 383/2/1.

[65] HO 129 394/1; 394/6; 394/8. The Christian Brethren also had a congregation in the Established Agricultural Town of Penkridge. This was the only example of a "marginal" denomination having a presence in an agricultural settlement.

[66] HO 129 394/8/1.

[67] For examples of this, see R.W. Ram "Influences on the Patterns of Belief and Social Action among Birmingham Dissenters between 1750 and 1870" from Religion in the Birmingham area. Essays in the Sociology of Religion (University of Birmingham) and E. Hopkins, Birmingham -The First Manufacturing town in the World (1760-1840), (London, 1989) pp.98-102.

[68] HO 129 379/3/2; 379/5/1; 383/2/1.

[69] The distribution of free sittings throughout the region with regards to denominational distribution and settlement type have been collated in Appendix 5, pp.335-343.

[70] The proportions of free accommodation for each of the denominations and connexions were: Primitive Methodists (73.8%), Catholic (73.5%), Wesleyan Methodists (57.6%), Independent (56.3%), MNC (53.4%), Church of England (44.9%) and Baptists (41.7%). The combined aggregate for the Methodists was 57.1%.

[71] Apart from these three extreme cases, however, the proportion of free to total sittings was within a narrow range, marginally under a half, including the districts of Walsall (47.0%), West Bromwich (47.1%), Wolverhampton, (47.6%), Birmingham (48.7%), Stourbridge (49.5%) and Aston (49.7%).

[72] In Penkridge, 79.5% and in King's Norton, 71.6% of all Methodist accommodation was free. In both districts over four out of every five sittings were free in the Primitive and New Connexional chapels. In semi-rural Wolverhampton and Aston, more than two-thirds of the Primitives accommodation was free.

[73] The proportion in West Bromwich was 46.6%, Dudley (44.2%) and Stourbridge (42.0%). The lowest proportion within the region was in Birmingham (41.1%), suggesting that, although the level of attendance was low there, the Methodists did not, or were not able to, adopt such an explicit missionary strategy as in the rural districts.

[74] Cumberland argues that because the Methodists had to raise the money for building largely from the congregation, the first chapels were usually cheap, unattractive and uncomfortable, and many were not built to be permanent as they expected rising congregations. Any decoration or beautification was not only unnecessary but also distracted the congregation from their purpose. It was only after 1850 that there was any attempt to make them more appealing. A.G. Cumberland, "Protestant Nonconformity in the Black Country 1662-1851", M.A. Dissertation, University of Birmingham (1951), pp.81-91. Leese argues that the Wesleyans originally introduced pew rents to pay interest on loans but that they became an integral part of funding. Moreover, as class distinctions within the congregation grew, the allocation of appropriated sittings became a very visible way of distinguishing the wealthier members from the rest, and the established members from the transient converts in times of evangelical revival. Leese, op. cit., pp.127-

130.

75 The level of free Anglican accommodation in the other districts was, Birmingham (51.5%), King's Norton (48.5%), West Bromwich (46.8%), Penkridge (45.8%), Wolverhampton (44.9%), Dudley (44.4%) and Aston (42.7%).

76 The Average Incidence of Service (AIS) for a settlement has been calculated by aggregating the number of services offered by a denomination within the settlement and dividing this by the number places of worship of the particular denomination located within the settlement. As well as an AIS covering all the places of worship in each settlement, a corresponding calculation has been made, where applicable, for the Anglican, Methodist and aggregated Independent and Baptist chapels in the settlement. See Appendix 12, pp.354-356.

77 Even in 1851 the evening was still the customary time for Methodist meetings, and when there were two services they normally occurred in the morning and the evening. For example, of the eleven Methodist chapels in the Birmingham district, four had three services and one held only a single service in the evening. Four out the five chapels which had two services held them in the morning and the evening. See HO 129 394.

78 See H.D. Rack, Reasonble Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism, (London, 1989), pp.409-420.

79 L.F. Church, More about the Early Methodist People, (London, 1949), p.248.

80 The other settlements in the region with an Anglican monopoly were the Established Industrial Town of Edgbaston and the Agricultural Hamlets of Coppenhall, Dunstan and Lapley.

81 See HO 129 395/4/4.

82 R. Gill, The Myth of the Empty Church, (London, 1993), p.52.

83 HO 129 378/2/4; 378/1/1; 393/1/2.

84 HO 128 382/3/1. An examination of Vance's beliefs and actions whilst curate at Coseley can be found in the case study of Sedgley in the following chapter.

85 For the population figures for each settlements in all nine registration districts see Report of the Population Census, 1851, pp.64-78.

[86] Hopkins, "Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages in the first half of the Nineteenth Century", op.cit., pp.411-424.

CHAPTER THREE

RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE AND PROVISION c.1840-1860: THREE CASE STUDIES

3.1 Methodological Issues

3.1.1 Sources of Evidence.

The analysis in the previous chapter has demonstrated that, any analysis of the 1851 Religious Census, however detailed, can only reveal the patterns of attendance on one day. It is not feasible to attempt a calculation of the extent to which attendance levels had been affected by especial factors such as bad weather in the area and "Mothering Sunday" or to the success or otherwise of the various denominations in attracting worshippers on that day. More importantly, it is impossible to indicate whether the observed patterns for 1851 were typical for the mid-nineteenth century as a whole. The static model of the returns of the Religious Census and the typology of settlements has established the patterns. A new dynamic model is now required to help assess and analyse these patterns over time.

Consequently, sources of evidence other than the 1851 Religious Census are required to analyse religious attendance and accommodation over time. However, there is no other source which offers such extensive and quantifiable evidence as the Census. There must, therefore, be a greater reliance on more qualitative sources which will not prove either as comprehensive or as consistent, as it was not common practice either to record or retain any details of congregation sizes.

This has necessitated the use of more problematic sources when attempting to assess the level of attendance over time because of the paucity of available and manageable evidence.

On the other hand, evidence concerning the growth, or otherwise, of religious provision has proved to be far more readily obtainable. Although the recording of congregation sizes was rare in the mid-nineteenth century there are many records still at hand which chronicle the changes in religious provision, including the building of new churches and chapels, the enlargement of existing ones, any changes in the proportion of free to appropriated sittings, the cost of the building and the raising of the funds.[1]

The most extensive and reliable evidence of religious attendance levels during the mid-nineteenth century are the membership figures of non-conformist denominations, most notably, the Methodists. Many non-conformist denominations kept detailed records of membership and it is possible to map the changing number of members, either of an individual church or chapel, or of a number of them within a circuit. Using the Wolverhampton circuit's returns of the Wesleyans and the New Connexion (1841-61) and the Dudley Wesleyan circuit (1846-54), it has been possible to compare some trends in membership of a majority of the Methodist chapels in Wolverhampton and Sedgley from 1841 to 1861.

Moreover, it may be possible to create a multiplier using membership figures, to estimate the level of attendance over time. If the number of attenders on Census Sunday is divided by the number of members on that day, the proportion of members to non-members in the congregation can be fixed, thus allowing a calculation of congregation size to be made by multiplying the number of members for a particular period by that proportion, and adding this to the number of members. For example, if the proportion of non-members attending on Census Sunday was three times higher than the number of members, then the predicted size of congregation in a month when a church had a hundred members, would be four hundred.

A number of serious problems would arise, however, if congregation sizes were to be calculated using this method. Firstly, it would have to be assumed that each member attended service once and only once, not only on Census Sunday but throughout the whole period. Notwithstanding the hesitation in assuming that all the members were able to attend, it is even more improbable, accepting the high incidence of multiple attendance throughout the whole congregation, that the members of the church or chapel attended only one service during the day: it must be assumed that the incidence of multiple attendance at an individual church or chapel was highest amongst the members of

that church or chapel. Indeed, members of the non-conformist chapels, especially the Methodists, were obliged to attend regularly and pressure was put upon them to go to more than one Sunday service.

More importantly, however, even if it were possible to estimate the proportion of individual members attending on Census Sunday to the size of congregation, there is no evidence to support the notion that this multiplier would remain constant throughout any period of investigation. Indeed, considering that the Census happened only once and there were allegations that certain denominations had appealed to members to attend, it is highly unlikely that the proportion of members to non-members would have been the same throughout 1851, let alone ten years earlier or later.

Furthermore, such a calculation would give only absolute figures which would not take account of any increase in the population. Just as Inglis' Index of Attendance has been criticised for using abstracted figures to indicate attendance levels, then any similar Index of Attendance, based not only on the estimated attendance figures of the Census but also on a debatable computation of a multiplier of membership levels, would be highly dubious. Consequently, if membership figures are to be used as a means of assessing religious attendance over time, it may prove more effective to use them simply as a measure of

membership growth or decline. There may still be some correlation between the level of membership and the size of the congregation, but it may prove a little over ambitious to argue that this relationship is either constant or measurable.

The Church of England did not have members because, as the state religion, everyone in England and Wales, apart from those formally members of dissenting denominations, was assumed to be Anglican. Membership statistics such as those relating to the Methodists, therefore, are not in existence. However, throughout the 1830's, the vicar of Sedgley organised regular visits to all parishioners, recording their religious affiliation of the inhabitants of four out of the nine hamlets. Furthermore, during the 1830's, the Archdeacon of the diocese of Lichfield, George Hodson, visited all the parishes of Staffordshire under his control at least once and indicated the number of communicants at each church. As a result, a limited comparison of the relative incidence of Anglican attendance over a twenty year period has been made for most of the sub region using the IAs of 1851 and the per-capita level of communicants in the 1830's, and of denominational distribution in Sedgley, using the vicar's records.

Field argues that the evidence for churchgoing in England can be divided into three categories: firstly, published and unpublished reports of national and local

church leaders about the state of religion; secondly, data generated by external observations, including local censuses of church and chapel attendance; and finally, direct evidence provided by the clergy themselves.[2] Both the returns from the 1851 Religious Census and membership data falls into the first type of source.

Other sources are of a more descriptive nature and could be seen to be characteristic of Field's other two categories. Evidence has been taken from the magazines of the three Methodist Connexions over the same twenty year period with a view to assessing the reliability of membership patterns and trends. These magazines describe revival and decline and also give examples of the missionary work carried out by the established chapels of all three Connexions mostly in rural and semi-rural villages. Evidence of this nature is confined to the dissenting denominations and, apart from the exceptional example of Queen Street Congregational church in Wolverhampton, only the Methodist chapels produced membership figures allowing such analysis.

Local newspapers have been consulted, but any evidence of changing attendance trends in the mid-nineteenth century has been sparse. The Wolverhampton Chronicle, the newspaper which covered all the settlements which are investigated in the three case studies, has been

examined in detail from 1840 to 1860, and no direct reference was made to the numerical strength of any congregation or denomination during that period. Moreover, there was no comment made concerning either the events surrounding the Religious Census in March 1851, or the publishing of Mann's report two years later. However, some isolated pieces of evidence, including general comments on the local clergy and the size of congregations, have been located and used in conjunction with the other sources.

The remainder of the evidence relating to the change in religious attendance during the mid-nineteenth century is largely descriptive, partial and lacking in objectivity. It came from two groups, the local Anglican clergy, and the Commissioners who drafted the various parliamentary reports throughout the mid-nineteenth century on the Black Country. Both sets of people came from the middle and upper classes and represented the State or the Church, the face of establishment in either its secular or clerical form. They were, therefore, both horrified and mystified by the alien habits of the industrial working class and determined to rectify their perceived depravity by introducing the working class to middle class virtues, including regular religious attendance, ideally at a church rather than a chapel.

Inevitably, the fear and prejudice of these observers resulted in less than accurate accounts of working class life in the Black Country. They were liable to disregard or misinterpret the more "creditable" aspects of working class life through either misunderstanding or their total conviction of the unassailable authority of their class. It can be assumed, however, that any prejudice shown by the commissioners, either towards the Church of England or against the unsupervised activities of the working class, remained fairly constant over the twenty years.

Thus, the evidence used to evaluate the level of religious attendance throughout the mid-nineteenth century is at best patchy and partially based on the suspect observations of individuals. Consequently, any conclusions concerning the patterns in the different settlement types will be less satisfactory than those derived from the 1851 Census as, by necessity, the methodology used will be less uniform than that employed in the analysis of the Religious Census. However, a dynamic analysis of religious attendance will serve to locate the 1851 attendance levels within the wider context of the mid-nineteenth century.

3.1.2 The Identification of the Case Studies.

It was not possible to produce a detailed examination of religious attendance and provision in the region over a twenty year period because such an undertaking would necessitate the writing of three theses not one. Therefore, it was necessary to select a part of the region which can lend itself to this type of investigation. The main requirements of this area are that it was both contiguous and consisted of as large a number of different settlement types as possible, to enable comparison over time.

It was thought most appropriate to use an area in the west of the region which could be identified as the Regional Centre of Wolverhampton and the Large Industrial Town of Sedgley, together with their rural hinterland. Although part of the Dudley Poor Law Union, Sedgley was chosen because it was included in the Parliamentary borough of Wolverhampton and was directly connected to the rural settlements, whereas similar Large Industrial Towns of the Wolverhampton Union, for example, Bilston, were totally surrounded by industrial settlements.

The rural hinterland of these two large industrial settlements has been identified as an area centred on the Poor Law district of Seisdon, a district which has been likened to a county itself, separating "the

ominous Black Country to the east, and the delightful paysage of the Shropshire countryside to the west".[3] Not all of this "county" has been considered, however, only the Mixed Village of Wombourn, the Agricultural Villages of Himley and Penn which were coterminous with the western borders of Sedgley and Wolverhampton, and the neighbouring Agricultural Villages of Enville, Trysull and Pattingham to the west.

This smaller area of investigation included both clearly defined agricultural and industrial districts, but more importantly, when attempting to analyse the effect of settlement type on the religious attendance and provision of an area, a significant level of industry within the agricultural settlements and, even in 1851, well established agricultural districts in the west part of the Wolverhampton registration district and in most parts of Sedgley. This has enabled the construction of a more thorough and accurate picture of religious attendance and provision in different types of settlement.

In the initial regional analysis, each identified settlement has been considered to be a single entity because only one population figure was available for each identified settlement. However, it could be argued that some were not one large homogeneous settlement. For example, the Large Industrial Town of Sedgley actually consisted of nine small hamlets, some of which

were industrial, others agricultural, in character. Both Enville and Himley were nucleated parishes. However, the other agricultural parishes contained more than one conspicuous settlement. Penn consisted of Upper Penn, circling the Common, and Lower Penn, some two miles to the west. The parish of Wombourn had developed around the three centres of Wombourn village and the hamlets of Orton and Swindon, and the parish of Trysull consisted of both Trysull and Seisdon. The parish of Pattingham included Patshull, but has not been included because it was located in Shropshire. The more heterogeneous character of these settlements may have resulted in a non-uniform pattern of religious attendance and provision throughout the settlement.

The chief characteristic of the smaller area of investigation up to the first half of the nineteenth century was the nebulous distinction between the urban and the rural, and the location of agriculture and industry. By 1860, however, the difference was far less vague, with industry becoming concentrated in areas which could be more readily identifiable as industrial. In addition, the agricultural settlements, the majority of which had a long industrial tradition, were increasingly dominated by commercial farming and the bourgeois immigrant. In all settlements, especially Wolverhampton, the gulf between the residential areas of the middle class and the districts of working class housing was growing. Wolverhampton industrialists were

increasingly leaving the town centre for nearby rural settlements, such as Penn, and middle class suburbs, such as Chapel Ash and Graisley, to the south and west.

In industry too, there was a critical transformation as more people were working in larger less autonomous units, as the small metal workshops became a less dominant mode of production in both Wolverhampton and Sedgley. This resulted in the expansion of more regular working practices in an area which had been used to a largely domestic system which allowed greater independence. The authority of the employer and the industrialist inevitably grew as a result of this development, and they were far more able not only to determine when and how quickly their employees worked but also to influence their moral behaviour and leisure activities.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to analysis of religious attendance and provision during the mid-nineteenth century by dividing this smaller area of investigation into three case studies: firstly, Wolverhampton; secondly, Sedgley; and finally, the surrounding rural hinterland of these two industrial settlements. The period, approximating to the 1840's and 1850's, has been determined largely by the available evidence. Therefore, evidence from beyond this twenty year period has not been disregarded if it

could help reveal or substantiate patterns of attendance and provision.

Despite its dynamic and partial nature of this approach, the initial methodology employed has been based significantly on the earlier regional analysis of the 1851 Religious Census. Notwithstanding the subsequent divisions, the settlement remains the initial unit of investigation and any change in religious attendance and provision has been analysed with reference to the changing nature of the settlement as determined by the five separate definitional criteria established in the original typology.

A case study approach, taking each settlement or group of settlements individually, has been adopted because it was the most efficient means, not only to examine the evidence but also, to maintain the internal logic of analysing religious attendance and provision in a single settlement group of settlements. Religious attendance and provision have been considered separately largely because this was the most appropriate method to facilitate the most consistent and uncomplicated presentation of the relevant evidence. This has made possible a comparative analysis of religious attendance and provision at a settlement level, drawing on local sources of evidence over the twenty year period, including the local returns of the 1851 Religious Census.

3.2 WOLVERHAMPTON

3.2.1 Economic background

Between 1750 and 1850, Wolverhampton served a dual purpose economically due to its location on the north western fringe of the Black Country. The west of the town acted as a commercial centre for local agriculture, with industrial activity concentrated in the east, close to the coal and iron districts. It developed from a small market town into a nationally known centre of both light and heavy industry.[4] In the middle ages, it had been a prosperous wool town but, by the seventeenth century, the blacksmiths of Wolverhampton were regarded as the best in the country and it was a national centre for the manufacture of locks, keys, bolts, brass and tin.[5]

By 1800, the industrial success of Wolverhampton was based upon the metal trade and the small manufacturer, producing his wares in very small workshops either by himself or employing few workers. Their working practices were craft dominated, pre-dating the Industrial Revolution, and used very little, if any, mechanisation.[6] The most important of these metal trades to the town was lockmaking, japanning and enamelling.

The prosperity of the town was very dependent upon the economic cycle and had experienced depression as a result of a slump in trade, especially following the

Napoleonic Wars. By the 1830's, however, the expansion of the railways resulted in a steadier and less sporadic market for the coal and iron of the Black Country. In 1833, full employment was reported in both industries in Wolverhampton and, by the mid-nineteenth century, although the small metal worker was still pre-eminent in the town, their influence and importance was on the wane.[7]

Wolverhampton, in 1841, has been portrayed as a mixture of pre-industrial town and modern industrial city. Middle class tradesmen and craftsmen were still concentrated in the town centre, and from 1820, a large number of high status families moved to larger dwelling places in the Queen Street, George Street and the Snowhill area.[8] However, others were starting to move westwards out to Chapel Ash and Graisley. They left their employees living above the shop as working class infilling in courts at the back of their shops became more prevalent.[9] By 1851, there were a significant number of these monied settlements, including the village of Vauxhall between Chapel Ash and Tettenhall.[10]

The working class populated the areas surrounding the centre. These included Carribee Island in the north; Salop Street in the south-west; and Cleveland Street, Dudley Street and Pipers Row in the south-east. The mining areas were in the south and east, on the border

with Bilston and Sedgley. Large coal and iron concerns such as Chillington Coal and Iron and the Wolverhampton Companies were located at Wednesfield Heath. Both Catchem's Corner and Ettingshall Lane were long streets of houses occupied mostly by miners. In 1834, Monmore Green, only half a mile south east of the town centre, was a mining district. However, by 1851, the mine there was almost exhausted.[11]

This movement of the middle class re-emphasised the traditional partition of the town between east and west. Increasingly the west of the town not only fulfilled the function of servicing a local rural hinterland, it also became the chief residential area of the town's wealthier elements. The poor and industrial workers were relegated to the centre and east of the town, close to the traditional small workshops and the ever expanding larger industrial concerns, and far from the fresh air of the countryside. On the whole, however, the working class of Wolverhampton occupied the same courtyards and alleys in 1871 as in 1841, and their conditions were only marginally better, if at all.[12]

By the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, the dominance of the small metal worker in Wolverhampton had been undermined by the expansion of the coal and iron industries. Time discipline and the influence of the industrialist, both economically and socially, was

increasing at the same time as the middle class moved out to the suburbs to the west of Wolverhampton, thus creating almost exclusively working class districts in the centre of the town. The physical distance between the homes of the employers in Wolverhampton and their workforce was growing wider throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently, there was a need for the Anglican church, as an agent of social control, to maintain a presence in the working class districts in order to promote middle class ideas of morality and respectability upon an increasingly distant workforce.

3.2.2 Religious Provision

Apart from the ten churches plan in Birmingham, the building programmes in Sedgley and Wolverhampton were the most successful in the region. The greatest similarity between them was the local and almost exclusive nature of their inception and organisation. Both were instigated largely by the energies of one evangelical clergyman; Charles Girdlestone in Sedgley and William Dalton, the vicar of St. Paul's, in Wolverhampton, and they were financed predominantly either by one individual or a small group of people.

To evangelicals such as these, church extension was of the utmost importance as the church itself was the foundation from which the clergyman could spread the word of God into the new industrial communities, where Anglican influence was at a minimum.[13] This would be achieved firstly, by building new churches and enlarging existing ones to increase the number of free and affordable sittings available to the poor, and, secondly, by increasing the contact between the clergyman and his parishioners, not only in spiritual but also secular matters. Dalton advocated this course of action in a sermon he delivered in March 1851, at the consecration of St. Leonard's, the church of the recently created parish of Bilston.[14]

Both these clergymen could be seen as part of an Evangelical Revival within the Church of England

throughout the industrial districts of the West Midlands during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the town of Birmingham after the appointment of Henry Ryder as Bishop of Lichfield in 1824.[15] The incumbent of Christ Church, Birmingham, George Hodson, became the Archdeacon of Stafford and his visitation records have become a major source of both Anglican attendance and provision in the 1830s.

One of the principal reasons for the relative lack of Anglican provision in Wolverhampton up to the 1840's was the non-residency of the Dean because the parish of Wolverhampton was not part of the diocese of Lichfield but came under the jurisdiction of the Dean of Windsor. Wolverhampton had an ancient parish church, St. Peter's, dating from the middle ages. However, the pressure of a rising population in the first half of the eighteenth century led to the erection of a second church in the town. The opening of St. John's in 1760 coincided with the incumbency of Dr. Penyston Booth, the only Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton who chose to live in Wolverhampton.[16]

Subsequently, there was no new Anglican church built in the town for almost eighty years and, as a consequence of the town's rapidly growing population, the ratio of churches to people fell from approximately 0.27 per thousand in 1750 to 0.08 in 1831. In 1825, a committee was set up to raise funds for the erection of St

George's. The chairman, the Rev. Thomas Walker, appealed to "The Sons of Affluence and Wealth" for money to build a church for "more than 20,000 living souls who never hear the name of God but in the faulty and abasing language of profanity". £2500 was raised when prospective pewholders were told that the choice of seat would be determined by the size of contribution, with the largest contributors having the best seats in the galleries. Notwithstanding this, almost 60% of the accommodation was free when it was opened for divine service in 1832.[17]

By 1861, there were eight Anglican churches in the town providing approximately 11,500 sittings, of which upward of 4,000 were completely free of charge.[18] Between 1830 and 1870, eleven new Anglican churches were built in the town, the costs of which were largely borne by a relatively small group of wealthy individuals. This programme was inspired by a small number of Anglican evangelicals, the most notable being William Dalton. The Dalton family had some experience of clerical duties in the town, as Henry Dalton, William's brother, had been the incumbent at St. John's in the 1820's.[19]

Although the popular choice for the incumbency at St. George's following a series of well supported sermons on the threat of papacy, Dalton did not obtain a living in Wolverhampton until 1843, when he became the

incumbent of St. Paul's, a new church covering the south-west side of the town from St. John's to St. Bartholemew's at Penn. Sarah Dalton, his wife, the rich widow of a substantial ironmaster, bore the majority of the cost of the building and at a later date built a vicarage at a cost of £2,000. They later paid for the building of St. Phillip's Church in Pennfields in Wolverhampton, where in October 1859, Dalton also became the incumbent.[20]

The building of other churches in Wolverhampton was also financed by private individuals. St Mary's in Stafford Street, opened in 1842, was paid for by Theodosia Hinckes, the unmarried daughter of the Rev. Josiah Hinckes of Tettenhall and the sister-in-law to the Rev. Henry Moore, vicar of Penn in 1851. She held lands in Tettenhall Wood and was the owner of Bushbury Manor and the principal contributor towards the rebuilding of Bushbury parish church in the 1850's.[21]

However, the greatest stimulus to church extension in the town was the abolition of the Royal Peculiar of Wolverhampton, by which the non-resident Dean of Wolverhampton was also the Dean of Windsor, thus placing the parish of Wolverhampton outside the jurisdiction of Lichfield diocese. Previously, the entire income of the Church in the parish of Wolverhampton had been absorbed by the Dean and Chapter. Consequently, at a time when state funds were

being directed towards church extension in the larger towns and cities, much needed revenue was taken out of the parish rather than used to administer to the spiritual needs of a rapidly growing industrial population. Indeed, the ancient parish church of St. Peter's was in need of repair as parts were in imminent danger of collapse.

Dalton and other leading figures in the town campaigned vigorously against the Peculiar throughout the 1830's. Eventually, the Cathedrals' Act of 1840 provided for the suppression of the Deanery and Peculiar of Wolverhampton upon the death of the Dean. The Wolverhampton Church Act of 1848 dissolved the college and its possessions were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.[22]

Following the Wolverhampton Act, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Bishop of Lichfield became the patrons of all the town's Anglican churches. St. Peter's was made into a rectory and, at a stroke, an annual rent of £3000 was made available to resource the spiritual needs of the town. Shortly afterwards, a grant of almost £3000 was made to help erect three additional churches in the newly created ecclesiastical districts of St. James's, St. Mark's and St. Matthew's.[23] A large proportion of the grant from the Ecclesiastical Commission, however, was used to repair St. Peter's and build a residence at St. George's.[24]

State grants for church extension programmes in the region were a significant proportion of the funds used to build new churches and rebuild and enlarge existing ones. However, in two of the most successful programmes, in Sedgley and Wolverhampton, the donations from private benefactors were at least as important. In Sedgley the additional Anglican provision in the 1820's and 1830's was almost entirely due to the efforts of the incumbent and the private patronage of the Earl of Dudley. As the provision increased and both Girdlestone and his patron left the parish, a larger proportion of the funds for any subsequent extension had to come from grants.

In Wolverhampton, the impetus for the increase in Anglican provision came directly from the dismantling of the Royal Peculiar which allowed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to administer church revenue and make grants. However, the substantial church building in the previous years, inaugurated by local clergy and financed by private subscription, began the activity which ensured that the first objective of Dalton and the other Anglican evangelicals was met. New churches were built and the per-capita proportion of sittings increased from 13.4% in 1831 to 22.3% in 1851. Moreover, the corresponding level of free sittings, neither appropriated nor rented, rose from 3.4% to 11.2%, representing a half of all Anglican

accommodation in 1851 rather than a quarter twenty years earlier.

So far only the religious provision of the Anglicans in Wolverhampton during the mid-nineteenth century has been examined. However, non-Anglican provision also had increased markedly in the town during the first half of the nineteenth century. When Thomas Scales, the first minister of Queen Street Congregational church, came to Wolverhampton in 1809, the only non-conformist chapels were his own and a small Wesleyan chapel behind Noah's Ark public house in Lichfield Street.[25] By 1851, the Congregationalists had two churches, the Baptists, one, and all three Methodist connexions were represented, including four Wesleyan chapels in Darlington Street, Monmore Green, Cannon Street and Blakenhall.

Whereas the Anglicans in Wolverhampton, largely under the guidance of a small band of evangelicals, had built churches in the mid-nineteenth century to attract larger congregations and more regular attendance, the non-conformists, most notably the Methodists, acquired additional accommodation as a response to growing numbers. Leese argues that the development of a Methodist Society and the acquisition of more permanent provision in the Black Country followed a familiar pattern. They first met in private house or rented accommodation before building a modest chapel.[26]

The financial burden of the chapel rested solely upon the resources of the society, and more elaborate and imposing buildings could only be afforded by the established congregations in the large towns such as the Darlington Street Wesleyan Methodists in Wolverhampton. This congregation met initially in a small chapel in Lichfield Street. During the 1820's, this became inadequate for the growing congregation and a larger building was erected in Darlington Street, paid for totally by the members and the congregation.[27]

The chapel was further extended in 1849, not only to increase accommodation but also to provide a more suitable building for the increasingly more respectable membership. One reason for this extension was to encourage increased attendance by improving amenities such as heating, acoustics and the pews.[28] However, Darlington Street was a well established chapel attempting to provide a more enjoyable experience for its existing and potential members but Methodist congregations in recently developed areas could not afford such luxury. Methodist chapel building, therefore, can only be viewed as strategy for expansion in those districts where they were established, running contrary to the strategies of the Evangelical Anglicans who advocated the erection of new buildings in those districts where they had little or no presence.

A major reason for the establishment of new congregations was secession. Obviously, this will show an increase in the number of religious communities as a split tended to create two congregations rather than one. More importantly, however, the division of chapels and churches led almost inevitably to the formation of a new, committed and tightly knit congregation determined to make new converts. This was not so great a factor in Wolverhampton as in Dudley and Sedgley, but one of the most significant secessions in the region took place at the Queen Street Congregational church in 1845.

The congregation at Queen Street had itself been established at the beginning of the century following a doctrinal disagreement. The secession in 1845 was occasioned by John Barker, the master of Chillington Ironworks, reputedly because he disagreed with the new minister and did not want him as a son-in-law. As a result he, together with forty-five members including a Deacon, left the church, joining the chapel at Temple Street which had at the time only eleven members. Subsequently, Barker financed the building of a new church in Snow Hill but died soon afterwards in 1852.[29]

The relationship between the two chapels deteriorated somewhat after the secession but improved greatly after Barker's death. However, it allowed a new chapel to be built and caused an increase in both membership and

congregation size at Temple Street without causing long term damage to the church at Queen Street. Indeed, the rise in membership at Queen Street during the mid-nineteenth century was greater than any other non-conformist place of worship in Wolverhampton.

3.2.3 Religious Attendance

The regional analysis of the 1851 Religious Census indicated that, contrary to national patterns, attendance levels were higher in the urban rather than the rural settlements. Indeed, the IAs attained in some of the Black Country settlements were amongst the highest national industrial attendance levels. However, the evidence of R.H. Horne, the Parliamentary Commissioner responsible for a survey on children's employment in the Black Country, reported an apparent lack of church and chapel going in Wolverhampton on the morning of Sunday March 14, 1843.

> "Boys from 9 to 17 years of age, playing marbles, in groups of five, and from that to ten. Adults of about 20 to 30 years of age, looking on- some smoking, vacant, listless -not really attending to the game. Boys fighting, bad language and bloody noses. Women in their working dresses standing about at doors or ends of passages, with folded arms.....No working man walking with their wives, either to or from church or chapel, or for the sake of the walk -no brothers or sisters. Until the issuing forth of the children from the Sunday-schools, with all those adults who had attended some place of worship, nothing seen but squalid disorder, indifference, and utter waste, in self-disgust, of the very day of which, in every sense, they should make the most.[30]

This observation confirms the pattern of low attendance in the poorer districts of Wolverhampton during the mid-nineteenth century which was identified in 1851 when the IA of Wolverhampton East was only a third of the more affluent Wolverhampton West. To a middle class observer such as Horne this lack of religious attendance resulted in a general deficiency in moral

fibre and the promotion of dissolute and shabby behaviour which he attributed mainly to the convention of heavy drinking late into Saturday night and all day Sunday. Traditionally, the majority of workers, including those in the larger mining and iron industries, did not start their working week until Tuesday morning, in some cases as late as Wednesday evening, depending on how much money they had earned in the previous week. Consequently, in order to complete a week's work, most worked very long hours on Thursdays and Fridays, and occasionally well into Saturday. The most popular form of relaxation was the Ale House, especially on Saturday night and all day Sunday and Monday, causing non-attendance at church or chapel on a Sunday.

Both Methodist preachers and Anglican evangelical clergymen saw drink as the biggest curse of the working classes in the Black Country, a view summed up by J.B. Owen, the Vicar of Bilston, when he prayed "If it pleased God to put down the drinking habits, Bilston would soon become a town of independent citizens."[31] To such people the pub embodied all that was despicable and ungodly, encouraging excessive alcohol consumption in a place beyond the authority of the church or chapel, and outside the control of the respectable section of the community. To evangelical clergymen, there was a stark choice between the righteousness of regular religious attendance and the sinful frequenting

of the alehouse. Therefore, their priority was the restriction, or at least the curtailing, of the sale of alcohol on a Sunday to allow sobriety and to increase congregation size.

However, by the late 1840s, the reports of other Parliamentary Commissioners indicate that regular attendance at both the Ale House and the church were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, many Black Country workers drank only moderately at the weekend and were able to attend church on Sunday. Although they generally continued to be absent from work on "Saint Monday" and drank on a Saturday night, drinking amongst the younger workers at least was no longer as universal on a Sunday and religious observance was more common, if not regular. It would seem, however, that the choice of religious denomination was unessential and they were liable to attend either church or chapel.[32]

Attempts, largely unsuccessful, had been made locally from the early nineteenth century to stop the high incidence of drinking and other immoral acts on a Sunday, especially during the hours of worship.[33] The Beerhouse and Public House Act of 1849 was introduced to restrict the number of beer outlets and the times when alcohol could be sold. It prohibited the selling of beer and cider on Sundays during the times of divine service, that was, before one o'clock in the afternoon and again between three and five.

This Act led to a decline in drunkenness and disorder in Wolverhampton on a Sunday.[34] Indeed, the clear difference between the attendance levels of the churches and chapels of Birmingham and Wolverhampton in 1851 may be explained partially by the inconsistent enforcement of the Act in the two towns. All public houses and beerhouses were closed in South Staffordshire during the hours of divine service, but in Birmingham the pubs were open on Sundays the same as any other day.[35] Hogg, the chief constable of the town, had observed an improvement in the state of Wolverhampton and the surrounding towns on the Sabbath.[36] This confirms an earlier observation in the letters page of the Wolverhampton Chronicle, in which the correspondent, "Omega", placed the responsibility for the more "sober" habits of the working people of Wolverhampton squarely on the shoulders of the town's mayor, G.B. Thorneycroft,

> "The last Sabbath formed a striking contrast with past times; the quiet of our streets, the order which prevailed, the universal satisfaction which manifested itself told upon the feelings of all classes, and seemed to say, 'the mayor has done his duty, for which we thank him'."[37]

By 1860, Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, citing the evidence of a large employer in Wolverhampton to demonstrate the astonishing improvement in the population's behaviour, suggested that the district was as quiet as a rural parish.[38] Another correspondent in the early 1860's

noted a great improvement in the moral fibre of not only the South Staffordshire coalminers but also the metal workers of Wolverhampton and surrounding towns. Both the tin men and the japanners had gradually become more respectable throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Apart from the puddlers, who still neither read a newspaper nor attended service, the men of the iron trade had become "a respectable body of men, many teetotallers, and many attending places of worship; some of them members and even preachers."[39]

Notwithstanding this one observer, although conceding that religious attendances in the Black Country had risen during the 1850's, still questioned the commitment and the motives of the congregation, ironically comparing the choice of religious denomination with that of the public house.

> "It is easier to build churches than to fill them. In many cases it is only a small minority, including however, for the most part the aristocracy of the colliery that form the congregation of the church. The attendants at the different chapels are a more numerous body. The familiar address of the preachers, the coarse but intelligible language, and the flattering doctrines, make the pulpits attractive. But between the churchmen and the schismatics there is a class more numerous than either, who think that whether they go to church or chapel is as much a matter of indifference as whether they get their beer at the Crown or the Chequers,"[40]

There was an apparent increase in attendance at the churches and chapels of Wolverhampton during the 1850s. Both the 1851 Religious Census and the commissioners reports of the 1840s indicated that attendance levels

in the town's poorer districts were very low but, by 1860, this tendency had altered significantly. However, the purpose of these observations must be questioned as these were the very people advocating reform in the 1840s. As such they may have been inclined to exaggerate the change in morals to illustrate the necessity for the change in the law. Moreover, a report in the Wolverhampton Chronicle of 1852 still complained of both children and adults from the Stafford Street district, the poorest area in the town, playing games in the street around the newly built St. Mary's church rather than worshipping inside.[41]

Indeed, this growth in religious attendance over time is confirmed only partially when the town's Wesleyan membership levels are examined over the twenty years[42]. These rose from 472 in 1841 to 675 in 1861. Although all three chapels reached their membership peak after 1850, there is no uniform pattern, albeit two out the three chapels had larger increases in the 1850s. Whereas the rise in membership at Darlington Street, which accounted for more than four out of every five of the town's Wesleyan members throughout the entire period, rose steadily but not as fast as the town's population, membership at both Monmore Green and Blakenhall fluctuated greatly, Monmore Green experiencing a massive per-capita increase during the 1840s. Per capita membership at Darlington Street and Blakenhall, however, fell by over a quarter in the

1840s yet per capita membership rose by almost a third at Blakenhall during the following decade.

Darlington Street was a town centre chapel and was the head of the circuit, with possibly the most respectable and successful Wesleyan congregation in the Black Country, yet the rise in membership in the 1850s was only slightly larger than the population increase. Membership levels between 1840 and 1860 increased steadily but not at as such a high rate as population. Accordingly, the large and imposing building which was erected in 1825 and enlarged in 1849 may have reflected more the status and success of its existing members rather than a desire for additional ones. Regular attenders included G.B. Thorneycroft, the Iron master and first Mayor of the town, who with his Methodist wife worshipped at St Peter's in the morning and Darlington Street in the evening. John Hartley, mayor in 1858 and later the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the county, donated a plot of land to the chapel in 1857 on which a day school and a Sunday school were built.[43]

The Primitive Methodists reported a revival in the Wolverhampton circuit in the 1850s. During its anniversary celebrations, the congregation at Willenhall was told that, despite the slackness in trade, "The brethren here have had toiling in bygone days, but now we are making progress." At the beginning of 1859, a reported three to four hundred people were

converted, reflecting a general increase in both membership and congregation size of the Primitive Methodist chapels throughout the Wolverhampton circuit, which, apart from Willenhall, were poorly attended in 1851. The size of congregation reported at the end of the decade in the Connexional magazine, a publication which may have tended to overestimate such statistics, would indicate at least a 50% increase in attendance.[44]

However, membership at the New Connexion chapel did not expand, either proportionately to population growth or in absolute terms, during the mid-nineteenth century, It had already reached its peak by 1840 and the only period when the increase in membership was greater than the rise in population was in the late 1840s. At Portobello, where there had been a congregation since 1847, membership dropped from a peak of twenty-one in 1851 to only nine in 1856. It appears that a chapel was opened in 1850 as a direct result of the increase in congregation size following the cholera epidemic of 1849.[45]

For the majority of chapels, however, membership statistics disguised the total turnover of members throughout the year as there were no records of the number of people who either joined or left the chapel. If the membership level in a particular year was the same as the previous year, this would suggest that the chapel had experienced a period of stagnation or

constancy without either recruitment or dismissal. However, there may have been a significant number of new recruits or returning lapsed members to the chapel, matched by a similar number of people who had left, either through death, indifference or expulsion. Hence, although the annual membership figures suggest stability, the year could have been a period of great religious activity and turnover resulting from two contrary yet very significant trends cancelling each other out.

The only Methodist chapel in Wolverhampton which kept records of arrivals and departures at any time during the mid-nineteenth century was the New Connexion. Between 1853 and 1856, there was a decline in overall membership but this was due to the large number taken off the books rather than to a lack of recruitment. In 1853, membership at the Wolverhampton chapel had increased from sixty-four to eighty-two. However, twenty-six rather than eighteen people either returned to the chapel or were recruited because, in addition, one member had died during the year and seven had been removed from the list. In 1854, although there was a net loss of one, seven new members were gained but again one member had died and seven had been removed during the year. There were larger losses in the following two years but this may have been due to the changes in the method of counting the members.[46]

Reasons for departure were not given, but at the Congregational church in Queen Street the commonest reasons for dismissal were drunkenness and absence. Another reason for departure from the chapel was members moving out of the area. However, a large proportion of these migrant members were recommended to their nearest church in their new district. Similarly, a large number of new members at Queen Street were not new recruits but members of other churches who had moved to Wolverhampton.[47] Therefore, a change in membership was not necessarily a result of increased recruitment or departure amongst the local population, but rather the result of the transfer of members.

Nevertheless, the mid-nineteenth century was a period of conspicuous growth for the Queen Street church and congregation. Membership between 1840 and 1860 increased every year and at a faster rate than the town's population. It rose almost continuously from 145 members in 1840 to 316 in 1854 and approximately 400 in 1859, apart from 1848 and 1849 due to the secession led by John Barker. Whilst celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, Thomas Scales, the first minister, described the first half of the nineteenth century as a period of vastly improving religious attendance amongst the people of Wolverhampton. In 1809, "the moral and spiritual conditions at that time were most deplorable", with little religious provision and very dogmatic and divisive congregations. Attendance at

Queen Street averaged only thirty of whom seven or eight were members. However, fifty years later, approximately one thousand attended the two services. The total number of attenders in 1851 was 684, indicating that attendances had improved by almost 50%, during the subsequent eighty years, a much bigger increase than the population rate.[48]

It had become an established town centre place of worship and, like the Wesleyan chapel at Darlington Street, had assumed a corresponding leading role amongst Congregationalists in the Black Country. Indeed, no individual place of worship in Wolverhampton had expanded more than Queen Street. It had become a regional centre of evangelical energy, conducting meetings at Wombourn and Swindon, Wednesfield Heath and Shipley. Furthermore, the social composition of the chapel had changed. The majority of members at the beginning of the period were tradesmen, clerks and artisans and their families, but increasingly it attracted men of greater wealth and status, notably industrial manufacturers such as Thomas Bantock and Samuel Mander.[49]

There is also limited evidence to suggest increased attendance at the Anglican churches in Wolverhampton, especially amongst the working class, following the expansion of provision in the town in the late 1840s. Ironically, a great deal of this evidence did not

emanate from the churches in the poorer parts of the town but from St. Mark's in the more affluent district of Chapel Ash.

Although considered not to be in a working class district, throughout the 1850s the church's six hundred free seats were usually full when there were many empty spaces in the appropriated pews. Later in the decade, more evangelical services, addressed specifically at "sinners" and "backsliders", were introduced in the week as an attempt to attract an even higher working class attendance.[50] This tendency is confirmed by the curate of St. Mark's, the Rev. J. Richardson, in a speech he made to the congregation shortly before his departure to St. George's in Birmingham. Since the consecration of the church only ten years previously,

> "The congregations at the ordinances of public worship had been increased, and they now saw a spirit of friendliness existing between the poor and their rich neighbours which he felt when he first became connected with the parish did not exist."[51]

Also during the mid-nineteenth century, there was an increase in the level of co-operation between the town's places of worship, not only amongst the various Methodist Connexions, but also between the protestant non-conformist denominations and even between these denominations and the evangelical elements of the Church of England in Wolverhampton. Although the rivalry between the denominations was rife, there

appears to have been little animosity. Both evangelical Anglicans and dissenters co-operated in support of the Wolverhampton Town Mission which was established in 1855. The annual United Prayer Meeting attracted over a thousand attenders and was addressed by the vicars of St. James's, St Matthew's, St Mark's and St John's as well as representatives from the Wesleyans, the New Connexion, the Independents and the Baptists.[52]

Methodist preachers attended and addressed the meetings of the other denominations.[53] The Primitive Methodists had a friendly relationship with the Congregationalists whose minister regularly led one of the three services on festival days.[54] In 1860, the Wesleyan chapel at Darlington Street gave up one of its Monday evening prayer meetings every four months to hold a Union prayer meeting with the two Congregational churches at Queen Street and Snow Hill, together with the Baptist church in St. James Square.[55]

The local Anglican clergy, the majority of whom were evangelicals, supported these joint ventures. Clergymen, such as Dalton, were pro-temperance, Sabbatarians and advocated total day-to-day involvement in their parish, a religious philosophy which was closer to the non-conformists than to some of their fellow Anglican clergy.[56] They also shared with the non-conformists in the town a strong intolerance and bigotry towards Catholicism, and any movement towards

their ideas of ceremony or "idolatry". In 1860, a few months before the announcement of the united prayer meeting, some of the younger elements of Darlington Street were admonished for attending papist services on festival days.[57]

There was a sizeable Anti-Catholic movement in Wolverhampton during the mid-nineteenth century led primarily by the Anglican Evangelicals, most notably William Dalton. In July 1830, two years before its consecration, the 2,300 sittings of St George's were filled to hear him debate on "the supremacy of the pope", an occurrence which was to be repeated in 1851 when approximately 3,000 people attended.[58] Indeed, he visited Wolverhampton for the first time in 1827 as part of a deputation from the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation, an Evangelical body founded in 1827. Earlier Dalton had been a curate in County Down but was brought urgently to England to debate with Catholic priests and laity in some of the larger towns. He first visited Liverpool where he subsequently acquired the incumbency of St Jude's church and then toured other urban centres including Wolverhampton.[59] The essence of Dalton's attack was doctrinal and was conducted on a dignified and intellectual level. Nevertheless, he remained firmly anti-Catholic throughout his long ministry in Wolverhampton, writing numerous criticisms of popery.[60]

In 1828, only 3% of the population of Wolverhampton was Catholic, by 1867 the proportion had increased to 17%.[61] In 1851, Ss Peter and Paul's recorded an average attendance of one thousand in both the morning and evening, with one hundred worshipping in the afternoon, representing over 4% of the population of the town.[62] Prior to 1840, the increase in the Catholic community was largely due to conversion rather than natural expansion. One example of this was the conversion of John Hawkesford who came to the town in 1821 and was converted to Catholicism thirteen years later. He subsequently became one of the most important members of the Catholic laity in Wolverhampton during the mid-nineteenth century.[63] The spectacular growth of Catholicism in the town, however, was the result of Irish immigration, especially into the poorer district around Stafford Street known as "Carribee Island".

As a result, there was a shift in influence away from the more deferential and respectable English Catholic community in the town towards the more confrontational and largely working class Irish community which caused tension not only between the two communities but also between the clergy and the laity. Nevertheless, the Catholics were the only denomination in Wolverhampton to experience such large and consistent increases in congregation size during the first sixty years of the century. Consequently, in 1828, all the Catholic community of the town could be accommodated in one

service, but by 1867, three chapels could only provide sufficient provision for one in five adherents, which meant that, even if three masses were held on a Sunday, only 60% of the Catholic population in Wolverhampton could be accommodated.[64]

Apart from the Catholics, an examination of the level of attendance at the individual places of worship in Wolverhampton during the mid-nineteenth century, as indicated by the membership levels, supports only partially the optimistic observations of Tremenheere. Apart from the Primitive Methodists who had a negligible presence in Wolverhampton in 1851, any rise in Methodist membership during the whole period, but especially after 1850, was not as large as the rise in population. Membership at the town centre chapels at Darlington Street and Queen Street, however, increased steadily over the twenty years without the cyclical pattern of decline and revival which was common in the Methodist chapels in other parts of the Black Country.

Reports of the irreligious and wanton nature of the working class in the town abounded during the 1840s but by 1860, following the introduction of legislation and more regulated working practices, the poorer districts, according to the commissioners, had become less intemperate and disorderly. Swift argues that the town's authorities used the influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s as a pretext to establish

authority over the whole of Wolverhampton's working class population by more aggressive policing.[65] Notwithstanding this, there was less drunkenness in the town on Saturday night and Sunday which supposedly encouraged more regular religious attendance.

In addition, there was a greater commitment to co-operation amongst the various protestant denominations to promote increased participation. Indeed, there were numerous occasions in the 1850s when joint prayer meetings were held and preachers went to other chapels. However, there is no evidence to show that attendances increased as a result, rather they may have been organised to stop a decline in attendance by attracting large audiences to hear the best speakers.

It is not possible to establish whether the divide between the religious attendance levels of Wolverhampton East and Wolverhampton West was as large in 1860 as that indicated ten years earlier by the Religious Census as a result of the apparent improvement in the morals of the working class. However, there is some evidence that all denominations, especially the Anglicans, tried to encourage more working class attendance during the 1850s, and some isolated indication that this was successful.

3.3 SEDGLEY

3.3.1 Economic Background

Parts of the Large Industrial Town of Sedgley experienced similar developments to the eastern part of Wolverhampton. Indeed, like Wolverhampton, the settlement of Sedgley could have been divided into a western and an eastern half, with heavy industry concentrated in the east. However, unlike Wolverhampton, throughout the mid-nineteenth century there were elements of both agriculture and industry throughout the settlement.

Although it has been categorised as a Large Industrial Town, Sedgley, more than any other settlement in the region, highlights the problems faced when employing a standardised settlement typology because not only were both urban and rural characteristics found in the town, but it also appears to have contained a large number of dissimilar discrete settlements whose economic, industrial, demographic and social structures were more consistent with neighbouring settlements than other parts of Sedgley. During the mid-nineteenth century, the parish was divided into two quasi-autonomous administrative units: the upper side, consisting of the western hamlets of Sedgley, Cotwall End, Gospel End, Upper and Lower Gornal; and the lower side, consisting of Ettingshall, Brierley, Coseley and Woodsetton in the east.[66]

Although the whole area had abundant mineral resources with extensive amounts of coal, iron, limestone, firestone and clay, the prosperity of the lower side of Sedgley was dominated by the fortunes of the coal and iron industries, especially in Ettingshall, Coseley and Princes End, all on the border of Bilston and Tipton. There were reports of coalmining at Woodsetton as early as the thirteenth century, and before the end of the seventeenth century the vast coal and iron reserves in Coseley were being exploited. In the 1830's there were over fifty pits in Coseley alone.[67]

Ettingshall, on the border of the parishes of Sedgley, Bilston and Wolverhampton, had been parkland owned by L.H. Petit, but by the mid-nineteenth century, it had been turned into one of the most crowded parts of the parish as a result of mineral exploitation.[68] The industrial and social development of Ettingshall, and to a lesser extent Coseley and Woodsetton, in the mid-nineteenth century reflected more the observed pattern of industrial Wolverhampton and Bilston than those in other parts of Sedgley, including other industrial hamlets such as Lower Gornal.

The upper side in the west of the town was similar in character to the neighbouring agricultural settlements of Himley, Penn and Wombourn. In 1842, the only two large manufacturers in Sedgley were an iron foundry and a screw factory, both found in the lower side. Nailing

dominated both Sedgley and Upper Gornal and almost half the population of Lower Gornal were nailers.[69] Agriculture still had a significant presence in the west of the town and, even in 1851, there were a large number of farmers.[70] Roper argues that the lower side of the parish had become an industrial district by the mid-nineteenth century whilst Sedgley itself was predominantly agricultural.[71]

Neither Upper nor Lower Gornal, however, could have been perceived as either agricultural or rural. The great woods of Pensnett Chase, Baggeridge and the Alder Coppice, and the steep edge of the Staffordshire Plateau separated Lower Gornal from the rest of the parish, which created not only a physical but also a social isolation. Generally the inhabitants of the Gornals, especially Lower Gornal, had been born there and they were very suspicious of outsiders.[72] In a report to the Parliamentary Commissioners on Children's Employment in 1842, R.H. Horne detailed the attempts by the authorities to civilise the inhabitants of Gornal and Sedgley. He concluded that, although advances had been made in Upper Sedgley and Upper Gornal, there had been little change in attitude in Lower Gornal.[73]

There had been a long history of industrial activity in and around Gornal. From the early seventeenth century, nails, locks, chains, hinges and scythes were all made in the cottage shops of the hamlet, providing both

swords and armour during the Civil War. However, although a large reserve of coal was found near the surface at Lower Gornal and this was exploited as early as the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the staple industry of the three industrial hamlets of Upper Gornal, Lower Gornal and Gornal Wood was undoubtedly nailing.[74]

As a result of the widespread decline in the hand-made nail industry after 1830, the mid-nineteenth century was a period of depression in the Gornals. Girdlestone, the Vicar of Sedgley, noted that the inhabitants of Lower Gornal were nearly exclusively of the labouring classes and, in the early 1830's, parents were ashamed to send their children to church because their clothes were so ragged.[75] This depressed situation appears to have remained in Lower Gornal throughout the period, yet there were signs of economic growth in Upper Gornal where increasingly firestone and limestone quarries were being exploited, and the hamlet was described as rapidly improving by a trade directory of the 1830's.[76]

Although considered an industrial and urban settlement, there were still parts of Sedgley which were not densely populated and had a significant amount of agriculture. Industrial activity in the town could be divided into two diverse modes. The traditional pre-industrial metal trades such as chain making and nail making, although no longer dominating the whole town,

were still very important on the upper side, especially in the Gornals. These trades were long established and had their origins in the rural and semi-rural areas. They employed traditional production methods which, although the workforce was poorly paid, allowed them considerable autonomy.

On the other hand, the major employers in the lower side of Sedgley, at Coseley and Ettingshall, were those in the heavy industries based upon the iron and coal trades. The workforce in these industries did not follow the traditional work patterns of the small metal trades and, although the Black Country collieries had fewer employees than the national average, neither the miner nor the iron worker could work from home and dictate their own hours. Although the tradition of St. Monday had continued into the second half of the nineteenth century in Sedgley in these two industries, the miners and the iron workers may have been better paid but were also less autonomous than the nailer.

Throughout the period of the mid-nineteenth century, from the late 1830's to the early 1860's, more and more inhabitants of Sedgley were gaining employment from these heavier industries where the organisation of labour was more regulated. Consequently, the separate identity of the individual hamlets, especially on the east side, was becoming increasingly blurred. Indeed, the "town" of Sedgley displayed better the

characteristics of a Large Industrial Town in 1860 rather than twenty years earlier. However, there still remained the isolated nailing and semi-rural hamlets whose characteristics had hardly changed and were becoming increasingly alien to the rest of the town.

The development of Sedgley during the mid-nineteenth century parallelled the equivalent changes throughout the whole of the Black Country. Although both were seen as large and unvaried industrial spatial units, this disguised a reality of traditional small and distinguishable settlements which had elements of both the urban and the rural. By 1850, this settlement pattern was giving way to the larger totally industrialised settlement, apart from those isolated settlements which retained their traditional characteristics throughout the century. More than any other settlement the identification of Sedgley as a Large Industrial Town demonstrates not only the limitations of the settlement typology but, more importantly, exposes the innate contradiction of depicting the Black Country as a congruous and uniform industrial region during this period.

3.3.2 Religious Provision

The most significant example of church extension in the region during the first half of the nineteenth century was at Sedgley, the result of a successful alliance between a rich and generous benefactor and an evangelical clergyman. The Church Extension programme in Sedgley had started over ten years before that in Wolverhampton. Between 1821 and 1841 the number of Anglican churches in Sedgley per thousand of population rose from 0.06 to 0.20, that is one church for every five thousand people instead of one for almost twenty thousand. The Rev. Charles Girdlestone arrived at this industrial parish in 1826, the first resident clergyman for some time, and recognized almost immediately the extent of the problems.

> "It was in the spring of 1826 that I first saw the Church of Sedgley, riding up to it on Sunday, from Himley Park, and reading myself in whilst the old church was still standing. The Vicarage, like the church, was almost in ruins, and was occupied by the village doctor. There had been no resident vicar for fifty years" [77]

It was chiefly the money donated by the Earl of Dudley which made possible the building of new churches during the first half of the nineteenth century. Girdlestone remained at Sedgley until 1837 when he resigned his living through ill-health caused by the excessive workload of this large and hilly industrial parish. He was presented with a silver urn and £350 collected by the parishioners and requested that the money be used to purchase a site for a new church at Upper Gornal,

demonstrating his personal commitment as an evangelical to church extension.[78]

There had been a church at Sedgley since at least Domesday. However, the population became less concentrated around the church in the township of Sedgley as a number of smaller hamlets flourished throughout the parish. As well as the pressure caused by a growing population, many of these hamlets were isolated and it was very difficult for some parishioners to attend church regularly. The most isolated hamlet in the parish was Lower Gornal which lay at the foot of the Staffordshire plateau. It was surrounded by the large woods at Pensnett Chase and at Baggeridge.[79] In order to attend the parish church at Sedgley the inhabitants of Lower Gornal had to walk up a very long and steep hill, making it almost impossible for them to attend in the winter.

It was here that the parish's first chapel of ease was consecrated in 1823, as a result of mounting pressure by Theodosius Theodosius, a curate designated specifically to look after the interests of the parishioners at Gornal who became the incumbent at St. James's in 1815, remaining until 1848. The church, began in 1815, had 700 sittings, 500 of which were free of charge, costing nearly £1,000, the majority of the money coming from the Earl of Dudley, the rest from public subscription.[80]

When, however, the church was visited by the Archdeacon of Stafford only fifteen years later, it was reported to be in a bad state of repair. The roof needed fixing, the walls were unsound, and the windows were broken and blocked, all to be paid out of £11 per annum allowed for such repair. In addition, there was no fencing on the south side which had allowed cattle to roam freely about the churchyard. However, when Hodson revisited the church in 1838, he reported that it had not only been enlarged but its fabric was much improved, having been enlarged in the previous year to accommodate, according to the Vicar of Sedgley, "930 people, a thousand with difficulty".[81]

Whereas the funds for the erection, though not the enlarging, of St. James's were mostly the result of private donations, the vast majority of the cost of the erection of St. Peter's in Upper Gornal was met by the various church building societies. Girdlestone had proposed building a church there in 1837 and he donated the land on which it was to be built. It opened for divine service on April 24, 1842, and was consecrated on July 14, 1843 with 852 sittings, 628 of which were free of charge.[82]

St James's had been the first additional Anglican church in the parish, yet when its enlargement and the erection of St. Peter's in the hamlet of Upper Gornal

was suggested less than fifteen years later, the parishioners of Sedgley had already helped raise money not only for St James's, but the rebuilding of the Parish Church at Sedgley and new churches at Coseley and Ettingshall. The impetus for the building of St Peter's came from the Vicar of Sedgley and not from the inhabitants of Upper Gornal who could attend either at the parish church or at St James's, both of which were less than two miles away.

Although St James's had been completed a few years before his arrival, church extension in Sedgley became more rapid once Girdlestone became the incumbent. There had been no resident clergyman in Sedgley for almost fifty years and it cannot have been a coincidence that, in the same year as Girdlestone's arrival, a Church Rebuilding Fund was opened and met with an immediate and generous response. Following consultations between the vicar, the churchwardens and the leading parishioners, it was decided to take down the old church and build a new and larger one at a cost of around £11,000.[83]

At the same time there had been moves to build a new church at the eastern side of the parish at Coseley, covering the newly industrial hamlets of Coseley, Brierley, Ettingshall and Woodsetton.[84] The Earl of Dudley promised to rebuild the church at Sedgley at his own expense if others who had donated to the Church

Rebuilding Funds at Sedgley would transfer their subscriptions to the building of the church at Coseley. Subsequently, a competition ensued between the two building committees to complete first which was won by Sedgley when the church was re-opened on July 6, 1829.[85]

The size of Christ Church, Coseley, appears to have been more than adequate for the surrounding population, as it was closed in 1847 for refurbishments but not for enlargement. However, there is some suggestion that its situation in the rural part of Coseley made it isolated from the industrial district of Ettingshall.[86] A proposal to build a church in Ettingshall followed the cholera epidemic in 1832 and, subsequently, Trinity church was built at Catchem's Corner in Ettingshall and opened for divine service on September 4, 1835.[87]

In a very short period, therefore, the activity of Girdlestone as an evangelical clergyman and the generosity of the Earl of Dudley and the parishioners of Sedgley had resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Anglican provision in one part of the West Midlands. Three new churches had been built and one had been repaired, largely at local expense. In 1832, the year of the cholera epidemic, Girdlestone reported with much self congratulation that not only did Sedgley have three churches with accommodation for four thousand but there had also been a significant increase in the

number of non-Anglican places of worship over the previous few years.[88]

However, the extension of Anglican provision came to an end following the departure of Girdlestone in 1837 and the Earl of Dudley's move from Himley Hall to Great Witley Court a few years later. After leaving Himley Hall the Earl of Dudley began to finance church extension in the Stourbridge area.[89]

By the time St. Peter's was built at Upper Gornal, the last new church to be built in Sedgley before 1860, it seems as if the local contributions had dried up and the extension was largely financed by the various church building societies. Indeed, by 1859, it was proposed by a meeting of the Lichfield Diocesan Society in Wolverhampton that additional places of worship should be built in Sedgley, especially in the working class districts. A request was made to the employers and proprietors of the town for finances.[90]

There had been an increase in the number of the older dissenting congregations in Sedgley during the first half of the nineteenth century as a result of the frequency of secession, especially within the well established Baptist community of Sedgley, one of the oldest in the West Midlands. In 1808-9, whilst the Darkhouse chapel was without a pastor, there was a division and part of the membership founded the

Providence Baptist Church in Coseley. Subsequently, in 1854, following the departure of the Rev. James Maurice in the previous year, there was a further secession at Providence Chapel. In 1856 the new pastor at Darkhouse took some of the congregation and together with the rebels from the Providence established a new place of worship, the Ebenezer Chapel.[91] Previously they had met in the house of Isaac Richards in the Bull Ring at Coseley and at the barn in Coseley Hall, and at the Wesleyan chapel at Bayer Street in Mamble Square.[92]

The reason for these secessions was either a disagreement between the pastor and part of the congregation, or a disagreement amongst the congregation when there was no pastor. Although division amongst the Baptists was more common in Sedgley than elsewhere, they were still very strong in the town. The various secessions between 1800 and 1860 resulted in the expansion of the Baptist church, with three Baptist churches functioning throughout the parish rather than one covering only the centre.

The Methodists too experienced divisions in the 1830's. Part of the Wesleyan Methodist congregation at Summit Place Chapel in Lower Gornal was expelled in 1835 following a disagreement amongst the membership. Initially, the expelled members held their meetings in the open air and then at the Woodman Inn in Gornal Wood, becoming part of the New Connexion in August

1836. A new place of worship, the Zoar Methodist Church, opened on Christmas Day 1836, by which time membership in the Gornal area had reached nearly two hundred.[93] The congregation at Lower Gornal, however, fell drastically after the division with many members leaving the church until only "a few good-hearted Wesleyans were left".[94]

Secession, therefore, played a vital role in the expansion of non-conformist provision within Sedgley during the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the Ruiton Congregational Church was the parent to a number of congregations of differing denominations. In 1801 the minister, Theodosius Theodosius, attempted to introduce episcopacy to the chapel as a means of returning the congregation to the Church of England, resulting not surprisingly in a split with the congregation. He was offered £20 to leave Ruiton but refused and made a bid to buy the church premises. He was expelled from the Association of ministers but attempted to squat in the church and was given six months to quit in February 1813. During this time the congregation were forced to meet in the house of Henry Hall for Sunday service. Finally, in November 1815, a notice of ejectment was made on Theodosius. He was ordained into the Church of England becoming the curate with responsibilities for the population of Lower Gornal in 1815, and later the

incumbent of St James's from its foundation until 1848.[95]

A further division arose when Theodosius's successor, the Rev Thomas Heathcote, died of cholera in 1831. Although the members of the church were Calvinists, Heathcote's successor was preaching Arminianism. Those members who disagreed with this change were dismissed from membership of the church in 1834. They formed a church and worshipped in a room in Ruiton Street in Lower Gornal, building a small chapel in 1841 when more converts from Ruiton had swelled the membership to forty-two. The congregation grew steadily until 1874 when a bigger chapel at Jews Lane had to be erected.[96]

However, not all departures from Ruiton were caused by doctrinal disagreements. A member of the chapel, Stephen Wilkes, a nail factor from Sedgley, wanted to establish a Mission there to preach to the ever increasing population. In 1856, the Sedgley Congregational Church was erected with approximately 550 sittings at a cost of £2,000, half of which was donated by Wilkes. The church was opened in 1857, the foundation stone being laid by The Rev. John Angell James of Carr's Lane Congregational chapel, Birmingham.[97]

In terms of buildings and congregations, therefore, the extension of non-Anglican accommodation during the mid-

nineteenth century was paramount in not only maintaining religious provision but extending it throughout a period of rapid population growth. However, this was most significant in the rural and semi-rural parts of the region where the missionaries from the towns were concentrated. Indeed, the influence of protestant non-conformity, especially Methodism, was augmented by the reaction of the Anglicans generally within the region but specifically in Wolverhampton and Sedgley. Such clergymen as Girdlestone adopted the same evangelical approach as the Methodists in the Black Country, and, therefore, did not see the Methodists so much as a threat but rather as a challenge.

These Anglican clergymen were the impelling force behind two of the most successful Anglican church building programmes in the region. However, by the end of the period, there was a perceived need for more Anglican accommodation the working class districts of the settlement.

3.3.3 Religious Attendance

In 1851, Sedgley had one of the highest IAs in the Black Country, yet still had a relatively low Anglican presence with the Church of England representing less than one fifth of the total attendance.[98] In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Sedgley comprised nine separate hamlets. Unlike other settlements in the region, population figures for these hamlets were recorded throughout the mid-nineteenth century and this has made it possible to calculate the IA of each individual hamlet. Table 3.3.3.1 shows the IAs and the Anglican and Methodist PSs for each hamlet with a place of worship.[99]

Table 3.3.3.1.

	NAME.	IA	PS(A)	PS(M)
1.	LOWER GORNAL	94.22	45.7%	22.3%
2.	SEDGLEY	78.32	37.2%	36.8%
3.	COSELEY	76.09	18.4%	26.7%
4.	ETTINGSHALL	68.94	11.9%	79.7%
5.	UPPER GORNAL	58.98	0	100%
6.	GOSPEL END	49.86	0	100%
7.	BRIERLEY	46.26	4.2%	95.8%
	THE GORNALS	80.02	32.1%	45.4%

Six of the seven IAs were higher than the regional average, and four bettered the national average, yet their wide range, from under fifty to nearly one hundred, indicates a significant variation in the pattern of attendance. The greatest attendance was found in Lower Gornal, a socially and physically isolated nailing and mining community. The IA achieved in Lower Gornal was comparable not only with the best

in the region but throughout the whole country, and it was far greater than that of the Industrial Town of Lye (68.38), which included the three isolated mining and nailing communities of Lye, Lye Waste and Wollescote.[100]

However, the denominational share in Lye, less than one in five attenders Anglican and over 70% Methodist, was more comparable with the mining community of Ettingshall, which was situated on the borders of three parishes, Wolverhampton, Sedgley and Bilston. This, according to Everitt, was a ideal location for non-conformity, especially Methodism, as the influence of the Anglicans would be at a minimum.[101]

The Church of England had failed to establish a presence in Ettingshall over the previous twenty years and the success of the Methodists was secured by their willingness to fill the religious void in this growing industrial district, building congregations in erstwhile apparently unredeemable places such as the district known as Sodom. The growth of Methodism in Ettingshall can be demonstrated by comparing the 1851 attendances levels with an ad hoc survey of the town's religious affiliation undertaken twenty years previously by the Sedgley Benevolent Visiting Society under the direction of Girdlestone.[102] Part of the duties of the Visitors was the listing of all families in the district and the religious affiliation of the

head of the family. However, records of only five of the nine hamlets of Sedgley in the 1830's still exist. The denominational distribution of these is shown in Table 3.3.3.2.[103]

Table 3.3.3.2

NAME.	COE	METH	OTH	TOT
GOSPEL END	84.00	4.00	4.00	92.00
UPPER GORNAL	45.99	16.67	22.15	85.65
COTWALL END	68.63	0.98	9.80	79.41
ETTINGSHALL	24.44	23.71	11.61	61.48
WOODSETTON	37.73	28.30	10.37	76.42
TOTAL	41.25	20.05	14.60	75.90

The visitation records covered only half the parish and whereas the 1851 figures represented a head count of attenders on one Sunday, the visitation records indicated the family's religious affiliation. Furthermore, any comparison would be less than complete as attendance levels in 1851 for two of the nine hamlets, Woodsetton and Cotwall End, cannot be measured as neither contained any places of worship. However, although such inconsistencies are bound to be more usual when investigating smaller spatial units, a micro-analysis enables the identification of different patterns of religious attendance within a single settlement.

One of the strongest arguments for lack of bias in the 1851 Religious Census was its anonymous nature. The reliability of the data from the visitation records must be questioned, therefore, because the names of the

families were recorded and the survey was carried out in the home, rather than an anonymous head count at the place of worship, by a society under the influence of the Church of England. Under these conditions, the families may have been unwilling to reveal religious preference and an irregular attender may have been more likely to say that he was a member of the state church. However, a significant number of the families indicated that they were non-Anglicans or even non attenders. Moreover, these figures appear to have been incidental to the main purpose of the exercise and the visitation records were private and, hence, never published.

By comparing the visitation records of the five hamlets with the returns of the 1851 Religious Census, a limited examination of church and chapel attendance in Sedgley over a twenty year period can be made. The most notable feature which has emerged when comparing the two sets of figures is the contrary fortunes of the Anglicans and the Methodists. Although the proportion of families who indicated some variety of religious affiliation in the 1830's was almost the same as the IA for Sedgley in 1851, the ratio of Anglicans to Methodists was diametrically opposite. Whereas in the 1830's twice as many families were Anglican rather than Methodist, by 1851 of all worshippers, 52.4% attended chapel and 21.9%, church.

The visitation records suggest that even in Ettingshall more people still considered themselves Anglican. However, by 1851, for every Anglican attender there were over six Methodists. Indeed, disregarding the Methodists' percentage share in Gospel End and Upper Gornal, which had no recorded Anglican attendance, the Methodists gained their highest share of attenders in Ettingshall and nearby Brierley. Moreover, the amended IA for Ettingshall indicated higher overall attendance levels than twenty years previously, supporting Robson's argument that the success of Methodists in the Black Country was not just gained at the expense of the Anglicans, they also attracted those people who were previously non-attenders. It might also be reasonable to assume that a high proportion of the population of Woodsetton were Methodist in 1851. Not only do the visitation records show it to have had the highest proportion in the 1830s but it was also located on the south of the settlement adjacent to Tipton and Dudley both of which had high Methodists IAs and a long tradition of Methodism.[104]

However, in the other districts in Sedgley, the Methodists had a smaller share of attenders both in 1851 and twenty years previously. Even in the Gornals, traditionally regarded as having been dominated by chapel and pub, the returns from the Religious Census indicated that twice as many people attended the Church of England as all the various Methodists Connexions

combined. In Lower Gornal, the very high attendance levels were the result of a large Anglican and Old Dissent rather than a Methodist presence. Whereas the Anglicans and the Methodists combined accounted for over 90% of the total number of attenders in Ettingshall, they represented less than 70% in Lower Gornal.[105]

The well established Independent chapel at Ruiton served not only the hamlets of Sedgley below the ridge but also the parishes of Dudley and Kingswinford. Likewise, St. James's was the first additional church built in the parish of Sedgley, and was accessible to those in other nearby low lying districts who did not want to climb the ridge to attend church in either Sedgley or Dudley.

The high Anglican attendance in Lower Gornal is somewhat surprising considering the traditional depiction of the inhabitants of the Gornal as fiercely independent, lacking respect for the authority of the squire and the vicar. Horne observes that when asked the identity of Jesus Christ, it was common for the inhabitants of the mining and nailing villages of Upper and Lower Gornal to reply "Does a' work on the bonk or on the pit.?"[106] This ignorance of Christianity was summed up by the story of Tom the Barber's aunt.

> "You know the parson came to Gornal, and he says to my Aunt Ann Maria, 'Can you say the Lord's

> Prayer?' and he had his answer, my aunt Ann Maria says to him 'Can yo mak a nail?' 'No, my good woman'. Then every mon to his trade'."[107]

The performance of the Methodists over the twenty years improves considerably when the hamlets of Upper and Lower Gornal, together with Gornal Wood are regarded as one district. Religious attendance appears to have been high throughout the whole period from 1830 to 1851, but the popularity of Methodism was considerably higher at the later date when the Anglican share had fallen by over a fifth and that of the Methodists had grown by almost a third. In the 1830's, less than one in five of the families were either exclusively Methodist or attended chapel as well as some other denomination. By 1851, the Methodists accounted for almost half the total number of attenders in the three districts, though this was still not as great a reversal as in Ettingshall.

However, the strength of Methodism in the Gornals, especially Primitive Methodism, during the 1840s was commented upon by Horne. Despite ignorance and degradation, chapels were regularly attended on a Sunday because of the enthusiasm of the congregation and preacher and the spectacle of their services. Generally, they attracted the poorest class by having many sacred days and organising processions, which would have been a welcome break from the dull, daily routine of the working class. Inside the chapel or meeting house, a play would be performed, usually by

children. A simple message was put over in the drama followed by the general singing of the congregation.[108]

In Sedgley itself, the traditional administrative and commercial centre of the network of hamlets, the level of Methodist and Anglican attendance was almost the same as at Lower Gornal. There was also a significant congregation at the Catholic church in Sedgley which was the only one in the area, and the congregation was one of the most established in the West Midlands. Older dissent was most successful in Coseley, a well established centre of the Baptists and the Independents in the region. The Anglican share was marginally higher than in Ettingshall and the level of Methodism only matched that in Lower Gornal. The combined share of the Methodists was lower than that of the older dissenting denominations and accounted for less than half the total number of attenders.

Although the visitation records for Gospel End and Cotwall End cannot be compared with data from 1851, they still reveal notable aspects of church and chapel attendance patterns within the area. Throughout the period, both settlements were overwhelmingly agricultural, and in the 1830's almost all families worshipped somewhere, the vast majority at the Church of England. Consequently, the denominational distribution in these two hamlets within an industrial settlement was more similar to that of the neighbouring

Agricultural Villages than of the more industrial hamlets of Sedgley, the Anglican percentage share being 91.3% in Gospel End and 86.4% in Cotwall End.

Indeed, some Gospel End inhabitants did not attend the parish church at Sedgley but the Anglican churches at Himley and Penn. Both the families of James Richards, a collier, and Richard Perry, a locksmith, attended Penn church. Charles Box, an agricultural labourer, attended the church at Himley. Only one family in each village disclosed their allegiance to the Methodists although two more families said they attended both church and chapel. It is difficult to accept, therefore, that a Methodist congregation could have been established in Gospel End by a member of the Wolverhampton circuit in the next decade without great changes in the nature of the population or unless the majority of the congregation came from outside the hamlet.

An examination of the membership levels of the town's nine Wesleyan chapels between 1841 and 1861 confirms this move to Methodism.[109] It should be remembered, however, that there was a great disparity in the number of members at each individual chapel over the twenty years, ranging from ten to twenty at the chapel in Sedgley to 130-160 at Ettingshall. Considering only percentage increases, therefore, may obscure significant changes in members in absolute terms.

Nevertheless, although seven of the chapels reported increased membership during the 1840s, only half the chapels recorded an increase over the twenty year period. Indeed, of the chapels in the Dudley circuit, only Ladymoor chapel in Ettingshall recorded an increase in membership between 1851 and 1861 and, although never gaining as many members as neighbouring chapels, the newly built chapel at Mamble Square in Coseley was the only one in the Dudley circuit to achieve a per capita rise in membership between 1846 and 1854. Similarly, of the chapels in the Wolverhampton circuit, only Can Lane maintained even a level of membership commensurate with the rise in population between 1841 and 1861.[110]

During the 1840s, however, the majority of the chapels experienced a per-capita increase in membership levels. The membership at Sedgley grew two and a half times quicker than the population and, despite a massive increase in the population of Ettingshall, the combined per capita membership levels at the three chapels almost doubled during the decade. This supports the evidence gained from the comparison of the Visitation Records with the Census returns in 1851. Despite the massive increase in the population of Ettingshall, almost 40% throughout the 1840s, the Wesleyans were able to not only match the increase but better it, especially the Can Lane and Lanesfield chapels. The Sedgley chapels in the Dudley circuit experienced a

similar pattern of growth. All four chapels recorded small ever increasing cyclical fluctuations throughout the last half of the 1840s, reaching a peak between December 1849 and December 1850. Thereafter, membership declined also in a cyclical manner.

A similar pattern has emerged for the Sedgley chapels in the Wolverhampton circuit. The peak level of membership for the chapels at Ettingshall, Can Lane and Gospel End was 1851 and a year later in Sedgley and Lanesfield. Ladymoor was the only chapel in Sedgley which did not have the same pattern, peaking in 1860. There had been a decline in membership in the 1840s because of local difficulties. A revival followed in the 1850s, resulting in the membership in 1860 being over 25% higher than twenty years previously, yet still not as high as the corresponding rise in population.

Hence, if the per-capita levels of attendance and membership moved in the same direction, the returns in the 1851 Religious Census for the Wesleyan chapels in Sedgley represented a peak in attendance during the mid-nineteenth century, following on the cholera epidemic of 1849 which had concentrated the minds of the people somewhat on their own impending mortality. The Wesleyan chapels in Ettingshall experienced the highest increases in membership but within three years they had returned to a level commensurate with those before 1849. Whereas the increase in membership at

Sedgley and Gospel End chapels 1848-9 was less than a third, the membership of the chapels at Coseley, Mamble Square and Ettingshall increased by over a half, and those at Can Lane and Lanesfield by 135% and 169% respectively.

Reports of the revival continued throughout the Dudley circuit even after the cholera had disappeared, the new converts including dog and cock fighters, pigeon flyers and whoremongers.[111] These reports may have been sensationalised to exaggerate the degree of deliverance but all describe erstwhile "sinners" whose commitment to the chapel may not have been as strong as the existing members. Notwithstanding this, however, membership tended to increase in the majority of the Wesleyan chapels in Sedgley after the cholera epidemic, peaking either in 1850 or 1851, before declining to a level in mid-decade but to a level which was still above that of 1849.

Although the Wesleyans reported membership at a peak at Gornal Wood in December 1849, more than doubling over the previous six months, in the same month a correspondent reported that a revival at the New Connexional chapel was well established and had begun before the outbreak of the epidemic. Yet only a few years earlier the members had considered selling the chapel as attendances dwindled. However, in a short period in 1849, the number in church fellowship had

increased from about thirty to almost two hundred. As a result, a new New Connexional chapel was opened for service in December 1854, with accommodation for almost 450 people. Three years later, the same correspondent reported a religious revival at the chapel following another period of difficulty and discouragement, clearly demonstrating the cyclical nature of religious attendance in this place. The same immoral and abandoned sinners were either returning to the fold or embracing religion for the first time, and converted from the error of their ways.[112]

The Primitive Methodists, too, reported spectacular revivals in the area during the 1850s. In the mid-decade, the chapel at Lower Gornal had been in a languishing state with meagre congregations, but following a number of open air services, attendances greatly improved, "many backsliders were reclaimed", some new converts were made, and upward of twenty members were obtained.[113] The repetitive nature of the language used in these reports must call into question their reliability as wholly truthful accounts. Nevertheless, such accounts do indicate a revival worthy of note, and consequently, confirm the perceived erratic character of any growth in Black Country Methodism at that time.

Despite the Church building programme instigated throughout the parish of Sedgley during the 1830s and

1840s, the Visitation Records and the 1851 Religious Census indicate a significant decline in the strength of the Anglicans, most notably in Ettingshall. Girdlestone's successor, the Rev. W. Lewis, argued that the problem faced locally by the Anglicans was not a lack of churches but a lack of suitable churchmen coupled with the unresponsiveness of the majority of the parishioners. Income from the parish had also declined because heavy industry had taken over agricultural land which resulted, for example, in the tithe from Ettingshall being reduced by a quarter.[114]

Moreover, the incumbent at Coseley, with no money or assistance on most Sundays and over 10,000 souls under his care, was ill and worn out. Indeed, Girdlestone, himself, had been forced to leave through exhaustion. It would appear that the Church of England was either unable or unwilling to provide clergymen who were capable, in both mind and body, of overcoming these difficulties. However, neither Girdlestone nor the Rev. William Ford Vance, who became incumbent at Coseley in 1850, lacked ability, willingness or capability. They were evangelical clergyman and were concerned greatly by the desolation and the despair of their parishioners and became involved with projects to alleviate their poverty by reforming their habits. He also initiated the visitations and the popularity of Girdlestone in Sedgley supports the view of Walker that "a house-visiting minister means a church-attending people".[115]

Girdlestone promoted the idea of self-help amongst the poor, advocating frugality, industry and sobriety to alleviate their misery. He saw a respectable home and family as the salvation of the poor. Their spiritual and material means would have been improved only if all activities were carried out by the family in a healthy home "as an antidote to the tap room" To him sanitary reform to enable the construction of decent homes was more important to their moral improvement than church extension and school building.[116]

Vance saw the alehouse as the greatest barrier to "his efforts at pastoral usefulness". He campaigned tirelessly to stop both "Tommy Shops" and the payment of wages in public houses. Moreover, he argued that the domestic habits of the miners and iron workers could only be rectified when women were no longer allowed in the pub. He blamed specifically the women of his parish for not promoting godliness and cleanliness and was not averse to venting his fury upon their unwomenly activities which not only resulted in their own moral destruction but, more importantly to Vance, was the major factor affecting their husbands and sons, his present and future parishioners.

> "Where can the degraded youth of these districts seek for partners but among females as degraded as themselves? It is in the public taproom, at the scene of nocturnal revelry or riotous debauchery, that the unhappy candidate for connubial joy selects, as the future mother of his children,

> some gaily decked slattern, with a mind as barren of every requisite for promoting the comfort of a home, or for bringing up children in the paths of virtue and respectability."[117]

Vance's popularity amongst his parishioners was demonstrated after his death in 1863 when over 750 subscribed to a collection, including people from all denominations.[118] This local evidence supports the argument of Meacham that the main influence upon the efficiency of a parish was the character of the incumbent.[119]

The comments by Lewis may have demonstrated an important change in strategy adopted by the Vicar of Sedgley after the departure of Girdlestone. Whereas Girdlestone was committed to the Visitation Society as a means of increasing church attendance, Lewis had abandoned the Society by 1842.[120] Furthermore, in 1844, it was reported in the Wolverhampton Chronicle that Lewis had enforced the payment of the Easter Offering by a dissenter, by sending constables to the house of William Smith to seize goods. This was a practice not undertaken by Girdlestone, suggesting that either he had a more sympathetic view of dissenters.[121] Notwithstanding the attitude of Vance and Girdlestone, the majority of the Anglican clergy appointed to the area seemed to have lacked both the physical strength and mental stamina to attend a largely suspicious flock in a very hostile physical environment.

The Methodists, on the other hand, used local people as aides to the ministers to carry out the duties of overseeing their congregation and recruiting new converts in districts previously with little or no organised religion. A congregation was established in Upper Ettingshall in the 1820s by a group of Primitive Methodists from Darlaston. The district was known as "Sodom" because it was the most notorious part of Coseley, famous for its drunkenness, violence and crime, with little respect for authority, either religious or secular. They were able to establish a congregation with thirty members in 1830, and, ironically, were able to build a chapel at Sodom in 1850. Six of the twelve trustees were miners and only three could sign their name.[122] Similarly, the Wesleyans sent lay preachers into a notorious part of Ettingshall known as "Hell Lane".[123]

The Methodists also successfully established chapels in Sedgley's rural hamlets. In the 1840s, William Hackett, a preacher at the Darlington Street Wesleyan chapel, established a congregation at Gospel End, initially preaching in a room, with the back of a chair as a pulpit, and, subsequently, opening a chapel in 1846. He attempted the same at nearby Penn and Wombourn but with little success.[124] The dominance of the Methodists was largely confined to the hamlets on the east of Sedgley, in those areas bordering the Methodist heartlands of Bilston, Tipton and Dudley, but in Coseley, neither the

Anglicans nor the Methodists had as high a share as the older dissenting bodies. Indeed, in Sedgley and the Gornals, the Anglicans in 1851 achieved a relatively high level of attendance despite the almost exclusively working class character of the Gornals.

Sedgley's overall religious attendance levels obscured distinct and different patterns within the settlement. Although attendance was relatively high in all hamlets, denominational share shifted dramatically both over time and from hamlet to hamlet, especially between the Church of England and the Methodists. Over half the families visited in the 1830s were Anglican, with less than a quarter Methodist. By 1851, this division had been inverted. Even after allowing for the factors which would have caused a bias towards the Anglicans in the visitation records, there was an extensive movement to the Methodists during a period of church extension in the parish, a pattern which is confirmed by a general rise in the membership of the settlement's Wesleyan chapels during the 1840s greater than the increase in population. Consequently, the reversal was not caused by an increase in accommodation but rather by the relative local strength, commitment and capabilities of the two denominations.

Unlike Wolverhampton, the evidence from both the 1830s and the Religious Census shows that, on the whole, attendance at Sedgley's places of worship, in

comparison with the surrounding industrial settlements, was high over the twenty years. However, apart from Ladymoor chapel, there was a general decline in membership of the Wesleyan chapels in Sedgley during the 1850's, suggesting that, for the Wesleyans at least, the returns of the 1851 Religious Census represented a peak in participation.

3.4 RURAL "SEISDONSHIRE"

3.4.1 Economic background

In 1851, there had been a long tradition of industry in the villages to the west of Sedgley and Wolverhampton which were included within the hundred of Seisdon. Indeed, there appears to have been a higher level of industrial activity in Wombourn, Himley and Penn before the Industrial Revolution than in the mid-nineteenth century. This was a result of their proximity to natural water outlets, that is, the springs of Penn Common and the small Smestow brook which ran through the parishes of Himley, Wombourn and Trysull. It is claimed that the first iron furnace to be coal fuelled in the world was developed by "Dud" Dudley in 1613 at Hasco Bridge on the borders of Himley and Sedgley parishes almost a hundred years previous to the exploits of Abraham Darby in 1707 at Coalbrookdale. It produced seven tons of iron per week and employed up to seventy men between 1629 and 1639. However, the furnace was later destroyed "by riotous persons" and Dudley's technological breakthrough was lost for almost a hundred years.

The first blast furnace in the region later to be known as the Black Country was built at nearby Gornal Wood in 1595, a locality where the South Staffordshire plateau falls sharply towards the Smestow brook and the River Stour producing a ready supply of fast running water.[125] Dudley also ran a forge at Himley Park but by

the beginning of the nineteenth century, there is little evidence of any industrial activity within the parish of Himley. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a whitesmith in the village producing edged tools including scythes, reaping handles and axes. There was also a Blade-mill, but by 1800 this had disappeared and the trade directories fifty years later did not include any industrial tradesman, including neither a blacksmith nor even a whitesmith to produce and repair agricultural equipment.[126]

Ironmaking had been carried out in Wombourn since the late sixteenth century and, in the early nineteenth century, both Wombourn and Swindon were still nailing centres. In 1834, the chief occupation was still nailing, not only of inhabitants who worked there but also those who worked at nearby workshops in the Black Country. However, throughout the mid-nineteenth century, nailing in Wombourn and Swindon experienced a similar decline to other hand made nailing centres in the region.[127]

Similarly, a large number of the inhabitants of Penn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not employed in agriculture. The majority of these people were nailmakers who cultivated small plots of land in an open field system around the common.[128] However, by 1850, the majority of the inhabitants of both Upper and

Lower Penn were occupied on the land, with only a few people in Upper Penn, concentrated around the common, gaining a living from metal trades.[129]

Moreover, throughout the mid-nineteenth century, Upper Penn was becoming increasingly inhabited by the wealthy merchants and industrialists of Wolverhampton, including a number of cabinet and lock manufacturers and iron masters. This may have been due to the location of Upper Penn, on the Stourbridge Road, which made easy access to Wolverhampton. A similar immigration of the industrial bourgeoisie was occurring in neighbouring agricultural settlements. A directory of 1845 showed that two ironmasters, Edward and John Thorneycroft, were living in Swindon.[130]

There had been some industrial activity in Enville during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of its proximity to the River Stour. Situated approximately a mile from both Enville and Kinver, the Hyde Mill, built in the seventeenth century, was the first in England constructed for the slitting and rolling of iron.[131] The level of industry diminished quicker in the parish of Enville than in the other agricultural settlements because the industrial and commercial importance of the neighbouring town of Kinver declined throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and the industrial activity was transported along the Stour to Stourbridge, to be

closer to the Black Country.[132] Most importantly, however, Enville Hall was the ancient seat of the Gray family who became the Earls of Stamford and Warrington. They were also the Lords of the Manor and the chief landowner in the parish, and, as such, Enville had all the characteristics of a "close" parish, where the influence of this family would have been almost absolute.[133]

Pattingham was also dominated by one family, the Pigots. In 1834, not only was Sir George Pigot the Lord of the Manor, living at Patshull Hall, he also owned most of the land. However, the Pigot family sold the hall and their manorial lands to the Earl of Dartmouth in 1848, and the latter's son, the Viscount Lewisham M.P., became resident in the hall. There was little industrial activity. A brickmaker was living in the manor in the early eighteenth century and there were two brickyards in the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, earlier in the century, a large number of Northumberland ploughs were made in the village by a Mr Rudge. However, the trade directories of the mid-century do not include any industrial tradesman, only farmers, retailers and people involved in servicing agriculture.[134]

Trysull was a chapelry of Wombourn until 1888, but for civil purposes it had been a parish since the seventeenth century. The Lord of the Manor of both

Wombourn, with Orton, and Trysull, with Seisdon, was Sir John Wrottesley. The Earl of Dudley was the Lord of the Manor of Swindon.[135] However, these parishes were far more "open" than either Pattingham or Enville because the Lord of the Manor did not own the majority of the land nor did he live there.

In Seisdon and Trysull, throughout the mid-nineteenth century, there was a tendency away from the small estate towards a larger number of smaller farms. In the early 1850's, seven of the twelve farms in the parish of Trysull had less than two hundred acres, and the proportion of smaller farms increased throughout the rest of the century. There is no evidence of industrial activity but agriculture was becoming more commercialised and the farmers of Trysull and Seisdon were implementing new techniques of crop rotation and cultivation. In the mid-nineteenth century, Daniel Banton, a freeholder with three hundred acres around Seisdon, was the first farmer in the county to use guano as a fertilizer.[136]

Arable farming came to dominate the vicinity as the century progressed. Market gardens had been cultivated on the outskirts of Wolverhampton since the beginning of the eighteenth century.[137] The light sandy soil found to the west of the town encouraged the use of the five year Norfolk crop rotation. By 1841, Pattingham had 1968 acres of arable farming and only 459 acres of

pasture and meadow, and in Trysull, arable had overhauled pasture by the mid-nineteenth century. In Wombourn and Orton, the dominance of arable was even higher.[138]

The ever growing industrial population of the Black Country, less than ten miles from any of these villages, offered a reliable and expanding market for this agricultural produce. As a consequence, the population of these villages did not decline, unlike those agricultural settlements to the north of Wolverhampton. Agriculture became a more diversified enterprise as can be seen by the introduction of market gardens throughout the area.

The demand for food from the industrial Black Country had kept agricultural wages high during the first half of the nineteenth century, and this, together with the migration of the industrial bourgeoisie of the nearby industrial towns and the demise of the hand-made nailing industry, resulted in a massive reduction in the level of traditional industry in these villages, and a growing dependency upon agriculture as the sole source of income.

3.4.2 Religious Provision

There was an even greater dependence upon private donation for church extension in the rural settlements than in Wolverhampton and Sedgley because population increases were not so great. No new churches were built in any of the Agricultural Villages in the first half of the nineteenth century but, nevertheless, the ratio of churches to people in 1851 was far higher in these villages than in the industrial towns ranging from 1.04 and 1.06 churches per thousand of population in Penn and Pattingham, to 2.5 in Himley.

However, in certain cases the parish church had been enlarged. The church at Trysull was enlarged by 157 sittings in 1844, 140 of which were free of charge, that is, neither appropriated, by a private individual or family, nor free to be rented.[139] As a result, the proportion of free accommodation rose threefold from 14% to 42%. The Rev. William Dalton delivered the sermon at the re-opening of the church in August 1844, when it " was completely filled both in the morning and the afternoon by respectable and attentive congregations".[140] Although St. Bartholomew's, Penn was not enlarged until 1871, additional free seating was made obtainable in 1841 as previously there had been only about fifty sittings which were neither appropriated nor rented in a church which could accommodate three hundred.[141]

A new church had been built in Himley in 1764, not only because the old one was falling down but to locate the church closer to the village and the Hall.[142] In 1830, it was reported that there was insufficient accommodation for the poor, yet in 1851 the Religious Census indicated that over half the sittings were free of charge. At Pattingham, part of the church was restored in 1856-7, but it is unknown how many new sittings were added. In 1830 the visitation record of the Bishop of Lichfield reported that out of the 420 sittings in the church, less than 10% were free accommodation for the poor.

The proportion of free sittings in these agricultural settlements to the west of Wolverhampton and Sedgley was relatively low, ranging from approximately 25-40%. This included the semi-industrial Wombourn, the only one of these settlements without an Anglican monopoly. The only exception was Himley where three out of every five sittings were free. This settlement included the church which had been used by the Earl of Dudley when he had lived at Himley Hall. Although there is no evidence to support the notion that he provided free accommodation for his servants and labourers, this is not too fanciful considering his extensive generosity elsewhere.

However, it was not only the amount and the cost of seating which could influence the level of attendance

over time. Parishioners would have been deterred from regular attendance, especially in the winter, if the church was cold or damp. The visitation records of 1830 indicate that the majority of these rural churches in the sub region were in a bad state. Before the alterations at Trysull the church was described as dirty and unkempt and in need of new pews.

The church roofs at Himley and Penn were both in need of repair leaving the churches damp as water was let in. The condition of the church at Penn would not have been aided by the non-residency of the incumbent, the Rev H. Thursby. Indeed, even when a church had recently had major renovation, it could fall into disrepair quickly if not constantly maintained. The church at Enville had been extensively repaired in the 1820's and a new tiled roof had been installed. By 1838, the church was in a state of neglect and the roof needed repairing, despite having a resident incumbent since 1750.[143]

On the whole the upkeep of these isolated parish churches was dependent upon the diligence and commitment of the incumbent, and his ability to raise money. The point is best illustrated, however, by a description of the interior of the church at Pattingham before the arrival of the Rev. William Greenstreet in the mid-1840's. The incumbent, although resident,

apparently took little interest in the condition of his parish church or his parishioners.

> "The interior space was covered with pews of all kinds of irregular shapes and sizes, some possessing locks, and warmed with stoves, and sufficiently high to shut off from general view the occupants slumbering peacefully within" [144]

Wombourn was the only settlement in rural "Seisdonshire" which did not have an Anglican monopoly. In this partially industrialised settlement the Congregationalists and the Methodists had congregations both in Wombourn itself and in the neighbouring hamlet of Swindon. As a result, in 1851, there were almost three churches or chapels per thousand of the population. This confirms the pattern for the whole of the region where the largest increases in non-conformist provision occurred not in the industrial but in the agricultural and semi-agricultural districts, due mainly to the missionary activities of the established town chapels and the numerous secessions which occurred during the period. The Methodists and the Congregationalists specifically sent missionaries out from Wolverhampton to Wombourn in an attempt to establish new congregations.

The Congregationalists built a chapel at Swindon in August 1820, at a cost of £350, which was a branch of the Queen Street church in Wolverhampton. In 1839 the Swindon members were able to hold services in Wall

Heath, supported by the churches at Queen Street and Ruiton in Lower Gornal. Meetings at Wombourn had been held by members of Queen Street for many years; a congregation was established there in 1825. They rented a barn between 1835 and 1850 when a new chapel was erected paid for by the members of Queen Street.[145]

It would appear initially that semi-industrial Wombourn was the type of settlement in which the Primitive Methodists would have thrived with little competition from either the Anglicans or other non-conformists. However, both the Wesleyans and the Congregationalists had a larger presence in the settlement and had built chapels there. Both denominations had support from larger chapels in Wolverhampton but the congregations were well enough established there to build chapels, partly financing the venture themselves by the introduction of rented sittings. Nevertheless, 68.25% of the Congregationals' sittings and 76.92% of the Wesleyans' were free of charge. They also met in the small neighbouring hamlet of Swindon which was still part of the parish of Wombourn. Here members of the Wombourn and Wolverhampton chapels led the congregation which met in an inhabited private house.[146] The Primitives met in the house of one of the congregation, thus reducing any expense to the bare minimum and ensuring that all sittings were free of charge.

Between 1801 and 1851 the ratio of Anglican churches per thousand of the population had fallen from 0.87 to 0.50 whereas the non-conformists' ratio rose almost two and a half fold from 0.87 to 2.38. It may have been as a result of the increasingly successful threat of non-conformist incursion as well as the determination to keep pace with growing population of the settlement that the Anglican church at Wombourn was the only church to receive any grant to help enlargement.[147]

The church's enlargement resulted in a 65.3% increase in total Anglican accommodation in the settlement. More importantly, however, the number of free sittings had increased over fifty times and the proportion of free to total accommodation rose from 1.83% to 31.1%. However, the non-conformists still had a far higher proportion of free seating, reflecting perhaps the missionary work carried out in the settlement by the Methodists and Congregationalists of Wolverhampton.

In the rural settlements to the west of Wolverhampton and Sedgley during the mid-nineteenth century, there was a limited amount of Anglican church extension, not the erection of new churches but the provision of additional, especially free seating. In Wombourn this was a response to similar pressures faced in industrial parishes, namely, increasing population and growing competition from protestant non-conformity. Some grants were made by local church building societies but the

vast majority of the money raised came from local private donations. In the other agricultural settlements some additional free accommodation was made available, but the major problem was the maintenance of the fabric of the building. The success of Anglican church extension in the rural settlements was largely dependent upon the activities of the local clergyman and his patron.

3.4.3. Religious Attendance

The apparent irreligious and wanton conduct of the working classes in the 1840s was not confined to the industrial Black Country. Such behaviour was also allegedly common in the neighbouring agricultural villages. During the first half of the nineteenth century, an open space outside the church at Pattingham was used for bull and badger baiting, and cock fighting, and it was not unusual for miners and ironworkers from the Black Country and Shropshire to be both participants and observers. The space, opposite the Pigot Arms, was known as the Bull-ring and the wall of the churchyard was used as a vantage point.[148] The public house was open all day and night, and only closed for a few hours on Sunday.

It becomes apparent when examining the Archdeacon's Visitation records that the spectacular attendances achieved outside the church were not matched inside. Only twenty communicants were recorded in 1830, which, apart from Trysull, was the lowest number recorded for the villages of rural "Seisdonshire".[149] Moreover, by the mid 1840s, the average size of the congregation was on occasion as low as five. On one Sunday the clerk became very excited because the congregation size was much higher than normal, shouting at the new incumbent, "O Sir, O Sir, there's fifteen people in the church."[150]

Despite the inhabitants of Himley in the 1830s being described by James Loch, the one-time agent for Lord Dudley's estate, as totally ignorant of their religious duties and "the most illiterate, ill-educated, ale-drinking profligate set of people I ever came in contact with", the number of Easter communicants represented over 15% of the population, almost double that of any neighbouring rural or semi-rural village.[151] In the whole of Staffordshire, this level was only matched by the villages of Haughton and Blithfield and bettered by Thorpe Constantine, Wychnor and Ingestre, where over a quarter of the inhabitants were communicants.[152] The majority of the land in these villages was owned by one landowner who also employed most of the villagers as servants or farm hands, and of whom the majority of farmers were tenants. Consequently, the power of this landowner would be almost absolute, and, therefore, the family could insist upon church attendance, supporting McLeod's argument that the highest Anglican attendances were found in those agricultural villages where the power of the squire was at its highest.[153]

An approximate per capita level of communicants in 1830 can be obtained by dividing the number of communicants by the population of each village in 1831. The level in Himley was 16.6%, almost four times higher that of the other villages. The county average was only 2%, the highest proportions being found in the agricultural

parishes and the lowest in the parishes consisting of numerous scattered mining and manufacturing villages. The neighbouring industrial parish of Sedgley had between fifty and one hundred communicants, that is, one communicant for between two and four hundred inhabitants. Even if the ten to twenty communicants from the chapel of ease at Lower Gornal were included, the lowest proportion was still above one in 170.[154]

The proportions in the four other Agricultural Villages -Pattingham (2.5%), Penn (4.6%), Enville (4.6%) and Trysull (3.2%) - were just above the county average, a pattern of low Anglican attendance which is consistent with the 1851 returns. Although the Church of England had a monopoly in all four villages throughout the mid-nineteenth century, their IAs were not only below the national average for the rural districts but also for the whole of England and Wales.[155] Therefore, although Pattingham had the lowest level, it was more typical of the other villages than was Himley.

Himley's relative high level of communicants in 1830 may have been a result of its proximity to the growing industrial parishes of Sedgley, Dudley and Kingswinford, where, in the 1820s and 1830s, there had been a conspicuous lack of Anglican accommodation. It may have proved easier for those people living on the extreme boundaries of these parishes, to the west of both Sedgley and Dudley and the north of Kingswinford,

to attend service at Himley which was both closer and less crowded. Indeed, the inhabitants of these industrial parishes may have also swelled the congregation at Penn. Penn church was only separated from the hamlets of Cotwall End and Gospel End by Penn Common, and was closer and more accessible than Sedgley parish church situated near the top of the ridge.

The 1851 returns indicate that the discrepancy in the level of church attendance between Himley and the other villages was not as great as indicated by the number of communicants in 1830. Lord Dudley had left Himley Hall in the meantime and although Himley did have the highest regional Anglican IA (77.5), those of the other villages were more comparable, ranging from 45.61 to 60.34.[156]

These figures, however, are only intended to demonstrate any changes in the level of religious attendance of Himley relative to the other four villages between 1830 and 1851. The multiplier should not be used to estimate the size of congregations in 1830 because the data is too abstracted. It should be noted, however, that amongst the five villages, the ranking of the 1830 levels corresponded with the rankings of the IAs calculated using the 1851 figures. In both years Himley had the highest number of communicants and level of attendance; Penn, the second and Enville, the third. The only variance was that

Pattingham had the lowest level of 1830 communicants and Trysull the lowest IA.

During the 1830s, Himley had all the characteristics of a "close" parish where the religious persuasion of the landlord had a greater influence upon the church and chapel going habits of the inhabitants. Himley Hall was built in 1740 as the seat of the Earls of Dudley and the main function of the village was to service the Dudley estate, with the result that the power and influence of the Ward family dominated every aspect of the village.[157] This more dependent relationship between the Earl of Dudley[158] and the parishioners would have resulted in a high level of religious attendance because the whole village, most especially the house servants and estate workers, would have been expected to attend the parish church, the only place of worship in the village.

However, after 1838, Himley Hall was no longer the seat of the Earl of Dudley, following the purchase of Witley Court and the Foley estates near Stourport.[159] The removal of the Ward family to deeper within the countryside was motivated by the encroachment of industry towards Himley Hall. As a result, the family's direct influence over the religious attendance of the villagers was greatly lessened and this, together with the increase in the level of accommodation in the nearby industrial settlements, gave Himley a level of

religious attendance in 1851 more equivalent with the neighbouring Agricultural Villages.

Whilst religious attendance in Himley was falling relatively, in Pattingham the IA in 1851 was nearly twenty times higher than the per-capita level of communicants in 1830, following the appointment of a new curate, the Rev. W.G. Greenstreet, on July 28, 1843. He was appointed to assist the Rev. Richard Thursfield, an old and sick man who had been the incumbent for over twenty years and was at the time non-resident because the parsonage was in a state of disrepair.

Greenstreet's first appointment as a curate was two years previous at Graffenhall in Cheshire, where he married Miss Eliza Jane Fletcher, the eldest daughter of a Liverpool industrialist, John Fletcher.[160] In that year Sir Robert Pigot, the largely non-resident Lord of the Manor, sold the patronage of both Pattingham and Patsull to John Fletcher, on condition that he put the vicarage into good repair. On the death of the Rev. Thursfield in 1847, Fletcher presented the living to Greenstreet who was the vicar of both parishes for over fifty years. Fletcher was only patron for a short length of time, giving it to the Earl of Dartmouth who had become the new Lord of the Manor late in the 1840s.[161]

The parish was in desperate need of a young and resident incumbent who would involve himself in the moral and physical well-being of his parishioners. Greenstreet had similar ideas to the local evangelical Anglican clergymen in Wolverhampton and Sedgley. He actively involved himself in the religious and secular activities of the village and improved the religious administration of the parish. Between 1844 and 1846, he guarantied the sum of £17 so that a post office could be opened in the village, and in 1849, during the cholera epidemic, he organized the inspection of the drains. His ability as a preacher was demonstrated when he went to Llandudno after the death of his wife in 1857. On his arrival in April, he offered his services and by the time he left in September, he was preaching to open air congregations at the head of the Great Orme, as the capacity of the church was not sufficient.[162]

The evidence from both Pattingham and Himley indicates that, although religious attendance was higher in those settlements closest to the industrial Black Country in both 1830 and 1851, the relative level was most significantly affected by local factors. Whereas religious attendance in Himley fell during the mid-nineteenth century, attendance levels in Pattingham increased immensely.

In Himley, the influence of the patron, a man who was committed to increasing the effectiveness of the Church of England, diminished greatly after his departure in the late 1830s. On the other hand, the church at Pattingham was fortunate to gain a young and energetic incumbent who was committed to increasing attendance. The common factor in both cases, however, was that a high level of religious attendance was attained in a settlement where no alternative existed, an achievement which was not universal throughout the rural settlements in the region, and which was determined almost exclusively by the commitment and effort of the incumbent and influence of his patron, usually the Lord of the Manor.

[1] The returns of the 1851 Religious Census did give information on these issues but obviously only on those places of worship erected before 1851. However, not all the returns which gave the amount of sittings, had information on the date of erection of the building or the proportion of free sittings. In addition, even in those which did there was no record of any changes in the circumstances of the church, including the number of additional sittings made available due to an enlargement of the building.

[2] C.D. Field, "A Godly People? Aspects of Religious Practice in the Diocese of Oxford 1738-1938.", Southern History, VOL 14 (1992), p.47.

[3] R. Davies, The Himley Story: History of Himley and Area, (Wolverhampton, 1975) p.2. The Wolverhampton district consisted of two Poor Law Unions, viz, the Seisdon Union, comprising sub-districts 379;1-3, and the Wolverhampton Union, comprising sub-districts 379;4-7. However, the parish of Tettenhall was no longer considered part of the Seisdon Poor Law Union. See Report of the 1851 Population Census, p.65.

[4] D.B.M. Huffer, "The Economic Development of Wolverhampton", M.A. Dissertation , University of London (1958), p.59.

[5] W. White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Staffordshire, (Sheffield, 1834), p.166; H. Parsons, A Portrait of the Black Country, (London, 1986), p.68.

[6] Huffer, op. cit., pp.274-282.

[7] White, op. cit., p.174; W. White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Staffordshire., (Sheffield, 1851), p.73.

[8] G.P. Mander and N.W. Tildesley, A History of Wolverhampton, (Wolverhampton, 1960), p.158.

[9] M. Shaw, "Life in Wolverhampton (1841-1871)", West Midlands Studies, VOL 12 1979, pp.2-8.

[10] White (1851), op. cit., p.96.

[11] White (1834), op. cit., p.190; p.206. White (1851), op. cit., p.95.

[12] Shaw op. cit. p.10.

[13] J.D. Walters, "The Impact of Anglican Evangelicalism

on the Religious Life of Wolverhampton", M.Phil Thesis, CNAA (1983), pp.26-30.

14 Wolverhampton Chronicle, 25/3/1851.

15 See D.E.H. Mole, "The Evangelical Revival in Birmingham" Parts 1&2,. Wesley Historical Society, West Midlands Branch Bulletin, VOL II (April 1975), pp.89-94; (Sept. 1975), pp.99-106.

16 J.S. Roper, A History of St. John's Church, Wolverhampton, (W.P.L. D/JSR/44/32). The church was built in meadows known as Cock Crofts which was in the vicinity of the town's richer dwellings.

17 See G.P. Mander, A History of St Georges Church. (W.P.L. D/MAN/49); F. Mason, The Book of Wolverhampton, (Buckingham, 1974),. p.23.

18 Harrison, Harrod & Co., Directory & Gazetteer of Staffordshire, (London, 1861), pp.4-5.

19 G.T. Lawley, A Bibliography of Wolverhampton, (Bilston, 1890), p.26.

20 Walters, op. cit., pp.32-35. For a report of the consecration of St. Phillip's, see Wolverhampton Chronicle, 13/7/1859.

21 A.H. Chatwin, Bushbury Parish and People 1550-1850, (Wolverhampton, 1983), pp.72-73. The church cost £7000 which included not only the erection of the church itself but also the vicarage and the adjoining school, (HO 129 379/5/1/5).

22 Walters, op. cit., pp.39-43.

23 See London Gazette, March 30, 1849. The Bishop became the patron of not only those churches under the control of the Dean but also the churches under private patronage with the agreement of the patron: St John's, the Earl of Stamford; St. Paul's, the Rev. and Mrs W. Dalton; and St. Mary's, Miss Theodosia Hinckes.

24 See W.P.L. D/NWT/5. The Commission agreed to pay £3000, to repair the roof, out of the £6500 bill to repair St. Peter's. The rest of the money was spent on a new drainage system. See Wolverhampton Chronicle 29/9/1852.

25 H.A. May, Queen Street Congregational Church, Wolverhampton. The Story of a Hundred Years (1809-1909), (Wolverhampton, 1909), p.24.

[26] R. Leese, "The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society 1742-1860", Ph.D Thesis, University of Manchester (1972), p.360.

[27] Mason, op. cit., pp.22-23.

[28] See Minute Book of the Trustees Meeting, Darlington St Chapel, Wolverhampton (1836-1860).

[29] For a full account of this see Matthews, op. cit., pp.217-218; May, op. cit., pp.15-16.

[30] Report from Commissioners. -Children's Employment. (Trades and Manufactures), 1842 Vol. XV -report of R.H. Horne.qq.21-22.

[31] The Rev. J.B. Owen, The Wolverhampton Almanac and Strangers Guide to South Staffordshire for 1855, (Wolverhampton, 1855), p.5.

[32] Report from Commissioners. -Children's Employment , 1849, Appendix -Report by James Mitchell Esq. LL.D -on the Employment of Children and Young Persons in the Coal and Iron Mines of South Staffordshire and Shropshire. See evidence of Samuel Ellice, Charles Bleadon and Joseph Harrison, pp.66-74.

[33] In Wolverhampton, in 1814, both "tippling in Public Houses" and "the idling of profane people in the streets during Divine Service, and the marble-playing" were brought to their attention. G.P. Mander and N.W. Tildesley, A History of Wolverhampton, (Wolverhampton, 1960), p.150.

[34] See Report on the Mining Districts, Dec.1849, p.16 The licensing hours may have favoured the Anglicans rather than the Methodists who tended to have more services in the afternoon than the evening. Some Methodists, however, had their largest congregations in the evening, suggesting that their congregations were not tempted by the demon drink to abdicate from their religious duties.

[35] The two places were separated by a small rivulet. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Public Houses, 1852-53 XXXVII,. qq. 6642-3. One beerhouse keeper in Wolverhampton was surprised when he was summoned before the magistrates for having opened between three and five in the afternoon on a Sunday. Previously, he had kept a beerhouse in Birmingham for six years and had opened on a Sunday regularly without prosecution., ibid, q.6641. It should be noted that the Act only covered beerhouses and public houses and not "wabble shops" and "bush houses" which sold ale and

porter but were considered private houses where the police had no right of entry.

[36] Report to the General Board of Health on a Prelimary Inquiry of the Borough of Wolverhampton and the townships of Bilston, Willenhall and Wednesfield, (Robert Rawlinson, June 1849), p.29.

[37] Wolverhampton Chronicle, 14/2/1849.

[38] Parliamentary Papers: Report by Hugh Seymour Tremenheere on the conditions of the South Staffordshire Mining districts, (1859), p.15.

[39] J.M. Ludlow & E. Jones, The Progress of the Working Class 1832-1867, (reprinted Clifton, 1973), pp.253-257.

[40] R.H. Cheney, "The Black Country", Edinburgh Review, April 1863, pp.439-440.

[41] Wolverhampton Chronicle 24/11/1852. It may be of some significance that, in this district with the highest incidence of Irish immigration, the correspondent asked for more policemen rather than more clergy.

[42] Membership statistics for the Wesleyan chapels of Wolverhampton can be found in Appendix 11, p.353. The membership at Monmore Green peaked in 1854, Darlington Street, 1858 and Blakenhall, 1859. Monmore Green, however, was on the border between Wolverhampton and Bilston and the pattern was very similar to the nearby Ettingshall chapels.

[43] See Diamond Jubilee of Darlington Street Methodist Church Building, (W.P.L., 1961), p.3.

[44] Primitive Methodist (PM) Magazine, VOL XXXIX, August 1858, p.501. PM, VOL XL May 1859, p.300. Other chapels included those at Monmore Green, Kings Hill, Swan Gardens, Wednesfield and Portobello.

[45] Methodist New Connexion (MNC) Magazine, VOL XVIII, Feb. 1850, p.87; VOL XIX June 1850, p.292.

[46] See the membership figures for the Wolverhampton circuit of the Methodist New Connexion. W.P.L. Ref: MC/MNC/4.

[47] For examples of these dismissals and transfers see Queen Street Church Minute Book, S.R.O..

[48] Queen Street Congregationalist Church -Deacon's Minute Book, 1st. Nov. 1859, S.R.O..

[49] The Mander family had a close connection with the Independent and Congregationalist movement in Wolverhampton since the late eighteenth century. See John Street Church Book, S.R.O. There appears to have been a persistent rivalry between the congregations at Queen Street and Snow Hill in the first half of the nineteenth century. See Matthews, op. cit., pp.169-229.

[50] As a result, thirty to forty members of the congregation agreed to meet on Saturday to increase their religious knowledge and receive education classes, a regular bible class was formed, and prayer meetings were held on a Tuesday evening. In 1860, the Rev. Baring-Gould, the incumbent at St. Mark's, proclaimed these initiatives as an unreserved success, adding that their only problem was a lack of accommodation.

[51] Wolverhampton Chronicle, 3/8/1859.

[52] J.D.P. Walters, "The Evangelical Embrace: Relations between Anglicans and Dissenters 1830-1870", West Midlands Studies, VOL XIV (1981), p.34.

[53] In 1848, the MNC missionary sermon in Wolverhampton was addressed by both Wesleyan and Independent officials. MNC Magazine, Vol XVI May 1848, p.287.

[54] J.T. Wilkinson, "Origins of Primitive Methodism in the West Midlands 1800-50", Wesley Historical Society West Midlands Branch Occasional Papers, No.2 Spring 1970, p.12.

[55] See minutes of Leaders Meetings, Darlington Street; W.P.L. June 23 1860. Two years previously at Queen Street, it was agreed to partake occasionally with others of the Lord's Supper. See minutes of Deacons' minutes book, 20 April 1858 S.R.O..

[56] J.D. Walters, "The Impact of Anglican Evangelicalism", op. cit., pp.1-2. Indeed, Dalton's brother, the Rev. Henry Dalton, turned Irvingite after previously holding the incumbency of St. John's in the 1820s. Lawley, op. cit., p.32; p.26.

[57] See minutes of Leaders Meetings, Darlington Street, March 12, 1860, W.P.L..

[58] G.P. Mander, A History of St Georges Church, W.P.L. Ref: D/MAN/49., pp.3-5; J. Quirke, "The Development of the Roman Catholic Community in Wolverhampton (1828-67)", M.A. Dissertation, CNAA (1983), pp.24-25.

[59] J.D.P. Walters, "Evangelicalism and the anti-Catholic movement in Wolverhampton 1830-70", (unpublished study, 1977).

[60] Including W. Dalton, The Rise and Progress of Romanism, (Wolverhampton, 1851). Other local Evangelical Anglican clergymen had a similar antipathy to the Catholic faith. In 1851, Catholic children in Wolverhampton's workhouse were denied access to a Catholic teacher by the Chairman of the Board of Governors, the Rev. J.B. Owen, vicar of St. Leonard's Bilston, Quirke, op. cit., pp.10-11.

[61] ibid, p.17.

[62] (HO 129 379/4/1/6). Because of the incidence of multiple attendance, however, this does not mean 4% of the population attended the Catholic church on that day. There would have been a significant number of people who attended both in the morning and the afternoon. There must be an element of suspicion over the accuracy of these figures. However, the main point it confirms is the growth of active Catholicism in the town throughout the mid-nineteenth century.

[63] Quirke, op. cit., p.8.

[64] ibid, p.47.

[65] R. Swift, "Crime and Ethnicity: The Irish in Early Victorian Wolverhampton", West Midlands Studies, Vol 13 (1980), p.4.

[66] White (1834), op. cit., p.278. They maintained the poor jointly but the roads separately.

[67] Parsons, op. cit., p.158.

[68] White (1834), op. cit., p.280.

[69] Horne (1842), op. cit., q.75.

[70] White (1851), op. cit., p.202.

[71] J.S. Roper, A History of Coseley, (Dudley, 1976), p.71.

[72] There appears to be similarities between the people of Gornal and those of the Lye Waste to the south. See E. Hopkins, "Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages in the first half of the nineteenth century", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL XXXIV (1983), pp.411-424.

[73] Horne (1842), op. cit., qq.79-80.

[74] F.A. Barnett, A History of Lower Gornal, (Dudley, 1975), pp.12-14. In the late seventeenth century there were almost two thousand nailers in the parish of Sedgley, the majority from the Gornals. They received their nailing bars from Heath Mill, a slitting mill in Wombourn.

[75] ibid, p.31.

[76] White (1834), op. cit., p.281; White (1851), op. cit., p.205.

[77] From Sedgley parish magazine (undated) reprinted in G.T. Lawley, op. cit., p.27.

[78] A. Dunphy, The Churches and Chapels of the Gornals and Sedgley, (Dudley, 1970), p.28.

[79] F.A. Barnett, The Story of a Village: Lower Gornal (1823-73), (Dudley, 1973), p.22.

[80] ibid, p.7 Some of the stone used to build the church was transported to Lower Gornal from the old parish church at Dudley which had been demolished in 1815. C.F.G. Clark, The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800-1860, (Birmingham, 1881), p.215. This early example of recycling was not greeted favourably universally, with Ben Boucher, the Dudley poet commenting.

> "The seats and the windows, ah and the clock too,
> Were sent to Gornal, to their Gornal crew;
> For the sand men and assess, for to go to church,
> And the people of Dudley were left in the lurch!"

[81] D. Robinson, Visitations of the Archdeaconry of Stafford 1829-41, (Collection for a History of Staffordshire, 4th. Series, X, 1980), p.12. Dunphy, op. cit., p.54. This enlargement took nine years to be completed, costing approximately £400: £200 from the Diocesan Society; £100 from the Church Building Society and the rest from private subscription.

[82] The cost of erection was £2207-18-0, of which the parishioners raised £257-18-0 and the church building societies donated £1900. St. Peter's, Upper Gornal - List of Subscribers, (C.R.O.). The Diocesan Society gave £800; the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, £600; the Incorporation Society, £450 and the Hyndman's Trust, £100. Of the private donations, Girdlestone gave £10; Theodosius £1 and Lord and Lady Ward £10 each. Only £5-8-0 was raised from the vicarage collections at Sedgley and £16-10-0 by a tin box. Indeed, the Ecclesiastical

Commissioners had to give an additional grant of £182-10-0 so that the erection of the church could be completed. Letter from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the secretary of the Vestry Meetings, dated 27 Nov. 1839, (C.R.O.).
The land for his parsonage was given by Lord Ward. The cost of building the parsonage was met by Lady Ward (£400); Queen Anne's Bounty (£200) and the Diocesan Society (£200). Only £40 was raised by "sundry subscription" St Peter's, Upper Gornal. Vestry Minutes Book, (1837-1883), (C.R.O.).

[83] P.T. Jones, The Story of The Parish Church of All Saints, Sedgley, (Gloucester, 1980), pp.7-9.

[84] Roper, op. cit., p.71.

[85] ibid, p.87; J. Mills, Annals of the Parish Church, Coseley, (Walsall, 1912), p.3. The accommodation was greatly increased, rising from 404 to 1309 sittings. Hackwood, op. cit., p.56; Dunphy, op. cit., p.16. In addition, the number of free sittings rose from zero to 714. Christ Church, Coseley was consecrated on August 25 1830, with 1,999 sittings, 1231 free. See E. Nayler, Sedgley Sundries, (Unpublished, C.R.O.), p.68; C.G. Girdlestone, Extracts from Twenty Parochial Sermons, (Oxford, 1832), p.359. It cost between £9500 and £10500 to build, with over £2100 raised by parishioners for the churches at both Sedgley and Coseley: the remainder coming from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Hackwood, op. cit., p.57; J.S. Roper, A History of Christ Church, Coseley, (Coseley, 1980), p.3.

[86] Mills, op. cit., pp.16-17; Hackwood, op. cit., p.58 suggests that the building of such a big church in Coseley was a mistake. It would have been better to build two or three smaller ones.

[87] Roper, "A History of Coseley", op. cit., p.87 A plain church, containing at least 500 kneelings, nearly all free and unappropriated, was suggested to serve the population of three neighbouring parishes: Sedgley; Bilston and St. John's, Wolverhampton. The actual church had 938 sittings. It covered an area with a population of 3,000 all of whom had to travel no more than a mile to a church. Underhill, op. cit., pp.300-301; Hackwood, op. cit., p.58. It cost £1230 to build, the majority of the money coming from private subscription but also with the help of the Incorporated Church Building Society.

[88] Girdlestone, op. cit., p.vi.

[89] For a full account of this see H.J. Haden, The

Stourbridge Scene 1851-1951, (Dudley, 1976), p.17.

90 Wolverhampton Chronicle, 11/5/1859.

91 Underhill, op.cit., pp.366-372. Roper, op. cit., p.83 Before a new building had been found the congregation at Coseley had to perform baptisms in the canal at Coseley and Bloomfield.

92 The commitment of the congregation to this new chapel was illustrated as the members themselves helped dig its foundations. See Hackwood, op.cit., p.84; See also L.B. Taylor, Notes on Coseley, (Unpublished, C.R.O.).

93 Underhill, op. cit., pp.417-8.

94 W. Davies, Early Methodism at Gornal Wood, (London, 1939), p.27.

95 ibid pp.74-75;.Barnett, op. cit., p.5; F.A. Barnett, The Methodist Church -Gornal and Sedgley Circuit., (Dudley, 1962), p.97; Matthews, op. cit., p.194.

96 Underhill, op. cit., pp.378-381. Between 1834 and 1841, Simeon Burns, a man converted during the cholera epidemic some years earlier, travelled eighteen miles three times a week from Walsall to preach.

97 ibid, pp.358-359; Hackwood, op.cit., pp.80-81. Wilkes had been holding services in his own house since 1838 and in 1844, at his own cost, a school was erected in Castle Street and an evangelical preacher was engaged to preach.

98 Robson, however, has shown that there were a number of duplicate returns for Methodist chapels in Sedgley, especially in the Ettingshall district. See G. Robson, "Methodists and the 1851 Census of Religious Worship in Birmingham and the Black Country", Wesley Historical Society, West Midlands Branch Bulletin, VOL II (1975), pp.97-98. There were duplicate forms for three Wesleyan chapels in Ettingshall and one in Gospel End. The Census returns no (HO 129 382/3/1/21) for a Wesleyan Chapel in Gospel End has been discounted. There are seven completed schedules for Wesleyan chapels in Ettingshall, yet only four listed in the circuit returns. Therefore return nos. (HO 129 382/3/1/29), for Can Lane chapel; (HO 129 382/3/1/40), for Lanesfield chapel; and (HO 129 382/3/1/27) for Lady Moor, have been discounted, again because the other returns for the individual chapels had higher totals. Disregarding these duplicate returns, the IA for Sedgley has been recalculated at 67.39, approximately 10% less than the

previous figure. However, there were no attendance figures for St. Peter's in Upper Gornal because the incumbent refused to answer the questions on the schedule. Even after the adjustments, however, the Wesleyans still attracted by far the largest congregations and the Methodists as a whole accounted for over half the total number of worshippers at the places of worship in Sedgley on Census Sunday.

99 Population figures between 1821 and 1861 for the nine hamlets of Sedgley; Gospel End; Cotwall End; Lower Gornal; Upper Gornal; Woodsetton; Coseley; Ettingshall and Brierley are to be found in the Sedgley Parish Book,. ref PR/SED, C.R.O., memo of population statistics for Sedgley (1851), D4629/5/1, and memo of population statistics for Sedgley (1861),D4629/5/2, S.R.O. They have been collated in Appendix 9, p.351. There are only seven places listed as there were no places of worship within the boundaries of either Cotwall End or Woodsetton.

100 See E. Hopkins, op. cit., pp.411-424.

101 See A. Everitt, "Nonconformity in Country Parishes" Agricultural History Review Supplement VOL XVIII, (1970).

102 For an account of the formation and the aims of this society see Walters "Charles Girdlestone and the Duties of the Rich to the Poor", op. cit., pp.22-24. The Sedgley Society was established on December 18, 1831. Its aims and objectives are to be found in the Sedgley Parish Book, C.R.O. The Society was given up by the new incumbent in the 1840s because of a lack of visitors. Some of the people who were visitors were employers who were using the visits to screen future employees. See evidence of W. Lewis, incumbent at Sedgley given to the Midland Mining Commission -First Report. South Staffordshire (Thomas Tancred, Commissioner), 1843, p.ccv.

103 The visitation records are kept in the S.R.O. REF: D/4269. Unfortunately, records only survive for the villages of Ettingshall, 405 families recorded; Woodsetton, 106 families; Upper Gornal, 475 families; Gospel End, 50 families; and Cotwall End, 103 families. However, although only the religious affiliation of the head of the household was asked, there are instances when two denominations were recorded because either the head attended both churches or because the spouse, invariably the wife, was of a different religion.

104 See Robson, op. cit., and G. Robson, "Between Town and Countryside: Contrasting patterns of churchgoing in

the Black Country", from D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL 16, (Oxford, 1979).

105 Looking at the various Methodist connexional magazines between 1840 and 1860, it appears that the size of the congregations at both Lower Gornal and Gornal Wood had larger fluctuations than the rest of the Black Country which itself was very volatile. It may have been that they were experiencing a slump in attendance in 1851 which would have been reflected in the percentage share.

106 Horne (1842), op.cit., q.78.

107 Davies, op. cit., pp.9-12.

108 Horne (1842), op. cit., qq.79-80.

109 The Wesleyan chapels in Sedgley were in two Methodists circuits. Gornal, Gornal Wood, Coseley and Mamble Square were in the Dudley circuit and Ettingshall, Can Lane, Lanesfield, Gospel End and Sedgley were in the Wolverhampton circuit. Membership statistics for these chapels can be found in Appendix 10, p.352.

110 Coseley, in the Dudley circuit, had the same number of members in 1854 as in 1846, and only Gospel End, in the Wolverhampton circuit, had an overall loss during the 1840s and 1850s.

111 MNC Magazine, VOL XVII Feb. 1850, p.88.

112 MNC Magazine, VOL XVII, Dec. 1849, pp.650-651; VOL XXIII, March 1855 p.155; VOL XXV, March 1857 p.151.

113 PM. Magazine, VOL XXXVIII May 1857, pp.297-298.

114 Evidence of W. Lewis, Report from the Parliamentary Commissioners - Children's Employment (Trades Manufacturers), 1842, op. cit., p.cl.

115 R.B. Walker, "Religious Change in Liverpool in the nineteenth century", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol.XIX No.2, (Oct 1968), p.207. Robson cites also the example of George Barrs, the well respected and hard working incumbent of Rowley Regis to explain the unusually high Anglican attendance recorded there. Robson, "Between Town and Countryside", op. cit., p.404.

116 J.D. Walters, "Charles Girdlestone", op. cit., pp.27-31

117 Vance, op. cit., p.xxxiii. His views concerning the moral degradation of Black Country women were shared by other middle class observers at the time.

118 Mills, op. cit., pp.24-29.

119 S. Meacham, "The Church in the Victorian city", Victorian Studies, Vol.II (1968), p.369

120 Evidence of W. Lewis, op. cit., p.cl.

121 Wolverhampton Chronicle 1/5/1844. The more aggressive attitude to the non-payment of the Easter Offering may have been simply a response to a growing financial crisis.

122 Roper, op. cit., p.85; Underhill, op. cit., pp.393-394.

123 An account of their exploits can be found in J. Freeman, Black Country Stories and Sketches, (Bilston, 1931), pp.96-103.

124 At Wombourn, it was intimated that he was unsuccessful because the Independents already had a presence there. A.C. Pratt, Black Country Methodism, (London, 1891), pp.72-81.

125 M.D.G. Wanklyn & G.R. Morton, "Dud Dudley: A New Appraisal", West Midlands Studies, VOL I No.1 (1967), p.50; Davies, op. cit., pp.77-82.

126 ibid, p.138; White (1834), op. cit., p.259; The Post Office, Directory of Birmingham, Warwickshire and Part of Staffordshire, (London, 1845), p.285.

127 In 1851 there were 242 nailers living in the village of Wombourn, yet ten years later this figure had dropped to 186.The Victoria County History of Staffordshire (VCH), Vol. XX, pp. 213-14; White (1834), op. cit., pp.92-93.

128 T.R. Bennett, Investigating Penn, (Wolverhampton, 1975), p.65.

129 Kelly's Post Office Directory of Birmingham with Staffordshire and Worcestershire, (London, 1850), p.343.
White (1851) op. cit., p.191; Melville & Co., Directory of Wolverhampton, (Worcester, 1851), p.192.

130 The Post Office (1845), op. cit., p.586.

131 E. Bennett, Mark and Moody's Penny Guide to Kinver

and Enville, (Stourbridge, 1899), p.13.

132 E. Hopkins (ed), The Kinver Parish Chest - Aspects of the history of Kinver in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries., (Unpublished, C.R.O.), p.19.

133 The effect of "open" and "close" parishes on the level of religious attendance has been discussed in Chapter one, pp. 35-37.

134 V.C.H., VOL.XX, op. cit., pp.179-181; White (1834), op. cit., p.272; Post Office (1845), op. cit., p.536; White (1851), op. cit., pp.189-190; Harrison, Harrod & Co., Directory & Gazetteer of Staffordshire, (London, 1861), p.185.

135 V.C.H., VOL XX, op. cit., p.185; White (1834), op. cit., pp.92-93; pp.290-291.

136 V.C.H., VOL. XX, op. cit., p.191. He also had one of the first threshing machines in the county which could perform a number of operations at the same time.

137 M. Rowlands, The West Midlands from AD 1000, (New York, 1987), pp.181-182. The trade directories of the period only show two market gardeners in Pattingham in 1861. Harrison (1861), op. cit., p.85. However, this does not mean that there were none in the other villages, they still classed themselves as farmers.

138 Around 1840 the proportion in Wombourn was 1,100 acres to 206, and in Orton, 929 acres to 133. In all these places rye, wheat, barley, oats and peas were grown. ibid, p.178; p.191; p.211.

139 Trysull award of pews (1844), D3452/4/2, and Faculty of Trysull Church, D3452/4/1, S.R.O..

140 Wolverhampton Chronicle 14/8/1844.

141 E. Harthill, The History of Penn, (Gloucester, 1960), p.18; Robinson, op. cit., p.19.

142 Davies, op. cit., p.123;

143 All the Visitation records for these villages can be found in Robinson, op. cit., pp.10-27.

144 F. Brighton, Pattingham, (Dudley, 1942), p.30

145 May, op. cit., pp.106-110.

146 (HO 129 379/3/2/7). The house must have been either very big or very crowded as the Census return indicated

that there were forty sittings in the house, all free, of which thirty-four were used in the evening service.

147 The church was enlarged in 1840 at a total cost of £1189-6-10, adding 261 new sittings of which 193 were free, increasing the total number of sittings from 382 to 643,.D/3710/3/3a&B, S.R.O. Faculty for the enlargement of Wombourn Church. A £200 grant was given by the Lichfield Diocesan Church Building Society; £150 from the Incorporation Society and £116-3-4 came from collections. However, the vast majority came from private subscription, including donations from the Earl of Dudley and the Daltons. The Enlargement of Wombourn Church - dated Feb. 24 1840, D3710/3/39, S.R.O.

148 (V.C.H.), Vol XX, op. cit., p.175; Brighton, op. cit., p.141.

149 Robinson, op. cit., pp.xx-xxii; pp.17-18. There were only eighteen at the much smaller village of Trysull (pp.26-27); between thirty and forty at both Wombourn (p.29) and Enville (p.10); forty at Penn (pp.17-18); and approximately seventy at Himley (p.14).

150 Brighton, op. cit., p.68.

151 See E. Richards "Captain Swing and the West Midlands", International Review of Social History, VOL. XIX 1974, pp.96-97.

152 Robinson, op. cit., p.xxvii.

153 See H. McLeod, "Class, Community and Religion: The Religious Geography of nineteenth century England", in M. Hill (ed), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, Vol 6 (London, 1973).

154 Richards, op. cit., p.21. The neighbouring industrial parish of Kingswinford, also contiguous with Himley, had only one communicant for every two hundred inhabitants. ibid, p.xxvii.

155 See K.S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol 11 1960, pp.74-86. A chapel was registered for the Independents in Pattingham in 1843, and the Wesleyans tried to establish a congregation in Penn in 1846, but neither survived any length of time. Pratt, op. cit., pp.72-73.

156 If the level of observance amongst the villages had been of the same proportion in 1851 as in 1830, either the IA of Himley would have been over two hundred, or the IAs of the other four villages would have ranged between ten and twenty. The figure for Himley was

calculated by dividing the aggregated IAs of the other four villages by the aggregated per capita level of communicants (approx. fifteen) and multiplying this by the per capita level of communicants for Himley. Conversely, the figures for the other four villages were calculated by estimating a multiplier for Himley and applying this to the per capita communicant levels for each village.

157 Parsons, op. cit., p.174; Davies op. cit. p.118. The family had acted as both an economic and spiritual provider to the village. Examples of the acts of benevolence by the Earl towards the inhabitants of Himley and the surrounding neighbourhood are given in W. White (1834), op. cit., p.259.

158 Whose benefaction to the Anglican church in the neighbouring industrial parishes has been considered in the previous case study on Sedgley.

159 Parsons, op. cit., p.174; Davies, op. cit., pp.92-93.

160 Brighton, op. cit., pp.67-68.

161 V.C.H., Vol XX, p.181; White (1851), op. cit., pp.189-190; Brighton, op. cit., p.68. The living was taken over by his son Arthur George Greenstreet in 1900. Earlier he had been appointed curate in 1887, and was vicar until 1927.

162 Minutes were taken at the Vestry meetings from 1844, the Pattingham Vestry minute book (1844-1929), D345/3/1 S.R.O.; Brighton, op. cit., pp.68-69.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

-CHAPTER FOUR-

In this study a regional analysis of religious attendance and provision has been undertaken using two very distinct methodological approaches. Initially, the discernible patterns of religious attendance and provision within Birmingham and the Black Country and the surrounding rural area in the mid-nineteenth century have been identified, using the 1851 Religious Census as the major source of evidence. This essentially static approach, using data from a single year, analysed these patterns in terms of denominational distribution and settlement type.

Subsequently, a more dynamic approach, in which a number of case studies of specified settlements within the region, covering a twenty year period from 1840 to 1860, has been undertaken using local evidence of church and chapel attendance and accommodation. For each case study in turn, patterns of religious attendance and provision have been analysed within a broader period from 1840 to 1860.

This has allowed the data from the 1851 Religious Census to be collated with other local evidence of religious attendance and accommodation, with the object of testing whether the 1851 data gave an adequate indication of the level of religious attendance for the mid-nineteenth century as a whole. As a result, the typicality of the 1851 Religious Census, as an indicator of religious attendance and provision in the

mid-nineteenth century, has been questioned. Furthermore, the evidence from the case studies has revealed a marked diversity of attendance levels in adjacent settlements, suggesting that any discernible regional patterns of attendance should not be assumed to be uniform.

The aim of this study was an analysis of religious attendance and provision, both within a specified region, namely, Birmingham and the Black Country and the surrounding rural area, and during a specified period of time, namely, the mid-nineteenth century. Although the initial analysis includes the whole region, it is only applicable for one day in 1851. On the other hand, whereas the case studies examine the whole period, the area of investigation is confined to a number of contiguous settlements representing only one part of the region, a restriction imposed by what could practically could be achieved in a study this size.

The major problem of the dynamic approach was locating local sources of evidence which indicated religious attendance throughout the whole period and presenting them in such a way that they could be compared with the levels of attendance ascertained from the 1851 Religious Census. Essentially, the sources were either descriptive or records of church and chapel membership

and, as such, could not be compared unconditionally with attendances.

In the case of Sedgley, however, such sources were located, most notably the data from the records of the Visitation Society, making possible an extensive, if incomplete, analysis of the changes in religious attendance and denominational distribution between the 1830's and 1851. Notwithstanding its incompleteness, the data has made possible one of the most comprehensive analyses of religious attendance during the mid-nineteenth century hitherto undertaken for a single industrial parish, town or village.

A number of methodological issues have arisen from the employment of a settlement typology. Firstly, the typology is static and, consequently, cannot be used as part of analysis of religious attendance and provision over time. Secondly, it has been constructed specifically for the region and, therefore, does not contain settlement types not found in the region, such as a port or a resort. Consequently, the transferability of this typology to other regions in the country or to other time periods is somewhat restricted.

Finally, the typology may be open to the charge that it has created some ambiguity in the identification of the region's settlements which may have caused some

distortion in the regional analysis. For example, it could be argued that the Industrial Town of Lye was not a discrete settlement but an amalgamation of three smaller settlements, Lye, Lye Waste and Wollescote, which have previously been classified by another historian as three "industrial villages".[1] It should be remembered, however, that the Methodist IA for the Industrial Town was larger than that of the Industrial Village. Identifying the Industrial Town of Lye as three separate Industrial Villages may have altered slightly the relative performance of the Methodists in the two settlement types but would not have changed the most striking conclusion that the Methodists performed best in the Large Industrial Town.

A necessary element for the delineation of a settlement was that a corresponding population figure could be found in the 1851 Population Census. Moreover, the typology is a construction, based upon standardised criteria and, therefore, settlement identification may be occasionally ambiguous. It is contended that such ambiguities do not negate the validity of the typology provided they are identified and their respective impact on the interpretation of the data assessed. More importantly, following such an assessment, the number of possible ambiguities have been reduced to a minimum, thus checking any distortion of the regional analysis by a mistaken identification of a settlement.

It was felt that nine settlement types covered sufficiently the different characteristics of the settlements without rendering the typology useless as a tool of a comparative analysis because too many categories had been identified. Certainly, it would be senseless and counter-productive to argue that this typology could be transferred in its exact form to another region or another period. Indeed, it is the particular nature of the typology, in terms of region and time period, which makes it a suitable tool of analysis for this study. It may be possible for future studies to extract from the development of this static model some notion of the means and issues involved in the construction a settlement typology, if only by criticising the perceived problematic aspects.

Analytical problems will inevitably arise if a settlement is simply defined by its population size or the level of industrialisation. This was not the first occasion such a categorisation has been attempted in order to facilitate analysis of religious attendance during the mid-nineteenth century.[2] However, whereas earlier attempts were concerned solely with rural parishes, this typology has covered both urban and rural parishes[3] and has differentiated between separate settlements within individual parishes.

The construction of this typology has demonstrated that such concepts as "town and village", "urban and rural",

and "industrial and agricultural", are not as simple as historians such as Inglis have depicted when analysing religious attendance and provision in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the methodological issues which have arisen from the construction of the settlement typology are relevant to any economic or social historian of the mid-nineteenth century who may wish to employ such functional, spatial, economic, occupational and demographic categorisations.

The main justification, however, for the employment of the settlement typology is the scope of the resultant analysis of religious attendance and provision. Previous regional studies of the returns of the 1851 Religious Census had never considered an area as large or as diverse as Birmingham and the Black Country and the surrounding rural area, and had never divided the region into a smaller unit than the parish. The construction of the settlement typology has enabled a consistent and uniform regional analysis of a large number of separate and identifiable settlements to be undertaken, ranging from Agricultural Hamlets, with populations of less than six hundred, to Regional Centres, with populations of over thirty thousand.

The case studies were less consistent and uniform. On the other hand, this dynamic approach offered more detailed analysis of particular settlements within the region over a period of time, thus enabling the

identified patterns of attendance and provision in 1851 to be located within a broader mid-nineteenth century context.

In the case of the Large Industrial Town of Sedgley, the settlement, the smallest spatial unit of investigation within the static regional analysis of 1851, was sub-divided into nine "hamlets" in order to discover whether religious attendance and accommodation levels were uniform throughout the settlement. This approach further questions whether a settlement is necessarily uniformly characterised within its boundaries, be it either a town or a village, as a number of the hamlets of Sedgley showed considerable diversity and appeared to have more shared characteristics with adjacent settlements than other hamlets within the Large Industrial Town of Sedgley.

The regional analysis of the 1851 Religious Census has shown that overall attendance throughout the region was significantly lower than the national average, despite some of the largest settlements in the Black Country attaining a level of attendance comparable with the highest IAs recorded for other industrial towns throughout England and Wales. Moreover, regardless of location, the IAs of the industrial settlements were higher generally than those of the neighbouring agricultural settlements, despite the fact that

attendance levels were lower in Birmingham than in the Black Country.

This is a pattern which contradicts somewhat the conventional theory of religious attendance which assumes that, as a settlement became larger and more industrial, the level of religious attendance fell.[4] Robson[5] had already identified this pattern for the largest Black Country towns but this study shows that it was the result of exceptionally high Methodist attendance in the Black Country and exceptionally low Anglican attendance, especially in the rural areas in the north and east of the region. Both McLeod and Brown have identified a similar pattern of attendance, but in neither case were attendances generally higher in urban areas than in the surrounding rural areas. Mcleod argues that there is a close relationship between the level of attendance registered in an urban centre and its rural hinterland whereas Brown merely argues that attendance levels were higher in some of the largest cities in Scotland than in some of the rural counties.[6]

Moreover, it has been demonstrated that this pattern of attendance was regional and not confined to the Black Country, despite much lower Methodist IAs in Birmingham and the east. Indeed, the places of worship in Birmingham were the most crowded throughout the region. The Black Country, therefore, should not be regarded as a deviation from the "normal" pattern of mid-nineteenth

century religious attendance, but rather as the most extreme example of unusual regional patterns caused by the low Anglican IAs in agricultural settlements and high non-conformist IAs in industrial ones.

Thus, the higher level of attendance in the Black Country than Birmingham is accounted for almost entirely by the high level of Methodist attendance in the former compared with the relative lack of Methodist success in the latter. However, Black Country Methodism was not uniform in its distribution. It centred upon the Regional Centre of Dudley, with the highest Methodist IAs occurring in the adjacent Large Industrial Towns. A significant factor in the pattern of Methodist attendance in 1851, therefore, was the high concentration of Large Industrial Towns in the Black Country.

One reason for this unusual pattern of attendance may be the greater opportunity offered to the urban population for worship because the average number of services was higher in the churches and chapels where population density was greatest. It is evident that the greater the number of services, the greater the potential for increased attendance. However, there is little evidence to indicate whether the level of attendance at a place of worship was a direct consequence of the number of services offered, or whether the number of services was a response to

demands made by the local population served by an individual church or chapel.

Moreover, even if a method of calculating the level of attendance could incorporate some weighting to minimise the distorting effect caused by an uneven distribution of the frequency of worship, the unusual patterns of attendance identified in this study would still be evident as a similar system of weighting would have to be employed when calculating either national attendance levels or those of other regions and settlements. In other words, a revised methodology may alter the distribution of attendance in Birmingham and the Black Country and its surrounding rural areas but similar alteration would be expected both nationally and regionally.

The case studies show that the regional patterns disguised significant differences in religious attendance at a local level. Moreover, this more detailed and dynamic analysis of religious provision and attendance demonstrated that any trends in the level of religious attendance discerned for the mid-nineteenth century were not necessarily the same in neighbouring settlements.

For example, when the attendance figures of 1851 for the agricultural settlements were compared with the level of Easter Communicants approximately twenty years

earlier, it emerged that there had been a significant change in the performance of the Church of England. Despite Himley having the highest Anglican IA in the region in 1851, with Pattingham some thirty points below, the level of attendance had improved significantly in Pattingham relative to Himley. This was most probably the result of changing local factors in the meantime, namely, the departure of the Earl of Dudley from Himley Hall and the appointment of a new and more active incumbent at Pattingham.

In Sedgley, the analysis of the nine hamlets shows that any patterns suggested by the 1851 Religious Census were not uniform throughout the settlement. Likewise, in Wolverhampton, there was a significant difference in the level of attendance between Wolverhampton West and Wolverhampton East. The two settlements were adjacent and would have been categorised by historians such as Inglis as the same type of town, yet substantial variations in religious attendance in the various parts of each settlement have been found not only in the snapshot of 1851 but in the trends throughout the period.

Methodist membership had reached a peak in Sedgley in 1851, but was still growing in Wolverhampton. It should be remembered, however, any change in the level of attendance at Methodist chapels was not analogous to the reported changes in Methodist membership trends.

Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to assume that the trends in attendance were no less regular than those in membership. Both these figures and the evidence of local revivals, taken from the various connexional magazines, also indicate that Methodist attendance in the chapels of the Gornals and Ettingshall tended to be cyclical, fluctuating significantly from year to year, supporting the cyclical pattern of revival and deactivation in Methodist membership which have been identified by Currie, Gilbert and Horsley.[7]

Further evidence in the trends in religious attendance was obtained for Sedgley by comparing the 1851 figures with those of the Sedgley Visitation Society in the 1830's. The most surprising finding was the high level of Anglican attendance in the Gornals at both times. However, the position of the Church of England in the rest of the settlement worsened over the period, especially in Ettingshall. Here missionaries from the various Methodist connexions, but particularly the Primitives, were able to recruit new converts.

The analysis of the 1851 data indicated that there was a general lack of religious provision throughout the region, with the majority of settlements having accommodation for less than 58% of their inhabitants, the percentage of the population which, according to Horace Mann, could have attended some service on Census Sunday.[8] However, in line with development in the

country as a whole, there had been an increase in the proportion of free sittings during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1851, in the churches of the towns and countryside alike, there were nearly as many sittings free of charge as there were sittings appropriated or rented.

The level of religious provision in the case studies in 1851, in terms of both places of worship and sittings, was higher than in the rest of the region. The Anglicans provided extra accommodation in all the settlements throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Although the dismantling of the Royal Peculiar in Wolverhampton was the single most important factor in the expansion of Anglican provision, the evidence from the case studies supports Walters' contention that the impetus for this expansion in both Sedgley and Wolverhampton came from the singular commitment and enthusiasm of local incumbents, coupled with the generosity of local benefactors.[9]

Evangelicals such as Dalton and Girdlestone placed great emphasis upon the provision of adequate Anglican accommodation as a means of securing greater links with the industrial poor, who comprised the vast majority of their parishioners. Unlike the Anglicans, the non-conformists had a less active approach to the provision of religious accommodation. Chapel building normally followed the establishment of a congregation, and often

not for a number of years, and in some cases not at all.

Despite the efforts of the local evangelical clergymen, there is no evidence of any increase in Anglican congregation size in either Wolverhampton or Sedgley during the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, the apparent failure of the Anglicans to increase the level of attendance in two of the region's large industrial settlements in which they had the greatest success in expanding provision in working class districts, indicates that the Anglicans had not resolved their most enduring problem.

The 1851 Religious Census had been held in order to establish the level of church and chapel attendance in an increasingly industrial society following the large church building programmes instigated by the Church of England. The regional analysis of the Census returns indicate that the Anglicans had not been able to increase the level of religious practice, as measured by attendance, in the rapidly growing districts of the region's industrial towns and cities, the places where the biggest investments had been made. Furthermore, they clearly demonstrate that the level of religious attendance in the agricultural districts was also low.

Any increase in the regional levels of religious attendance and provision, especially in working class

districts, during the mid-nineteenth century was the result of the activity of the non-conformists. The level of non-conformist accommodation, especially Methodist, was the most important factor in maintaining the meagre religious provision in the region's industrial settlements.

The unusual regional pattern of religious attendance identified by the regional analysis of the 1851 Religious Census, that is higher attendance levels in the urban than in the rural settlements, was a direct consequence of very high Methodist attendance levels in the industrial settlements, especially within the larger industrial towns of the Black Country. In these settlements it was the Methodists and not the Anglicans who were attracting the industrial working class into the chapels.

The case studies have provided an opportunity to discover the local aspects and explanations of this regional pattern. The main reasons for the success of the Methodists in districts like Ettingshall was the willingness of local Methodist missionaries to enter into the most "ungodly" places in order to attract larger congregations and recruit more members. This compares strikingly with the attitudes and incapability of the local clergy, with some notable exceptions, to do likewise.

Although investigations of Ettingshall and the Gornals have revealed specific reasons for the trends in attendance over time, there still remain some issues not fully resolved concerning the region's smaller industrial settlements, especially within the Black Country. It may be illuminating to compare further a number of these smaller settlements, for example the industrial hamlets of Sedgley with Lye, Lye Waste and Wollescote in the south of the region or with the former squatter settlements on the fringe of the Cannock Chase in the north, using criteria not included in the typology, such as the age of the settlement.

This thesis has shown that, because of the variety of trends identified in the case studies between 1830 and 1860, the data from the 1851 Religious Census cannot be used as a uniform measure of religious attendance and provision during the mid-nineteenth century. The attendance levels apply only for a singular Sunday in one particular year. Consequently, they can only be used as part of a dynamic analysis if comparable statistics can be discovered for other years.

By precisely locating the findings of the 1851 Religious Census, however, it is still possible to use them as part of an analysis of religious attendance in the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, it may be possible to use them as part of an analysis of a wider period such as the second half of the nineteenth century in

which they could be used as the starting point. This would allow analysis of trends of religious attendance beyond the period considered in this thesis. Where local censuses of religious attendance exist for the late ninteenth century, as is the case with Wolverhampton (1881) and Birmingham (1892), analysis of longer term changes in the overall level of attendance and denominational distribution are greatly facilitated.[10]

[1] E. Hopkins "Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages in the first half of the nineteenth century" Journal of Ecclesiastical History VOL XXXIV (1983), pp.411-424.

[2] Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, South Lindsey 1825-75, (Oxford, 1976), p.12 identifies four different types of parish.
Banks, "Nineteenth century scandal or twentieth century model? A New look at 'open' and 'close' parishes", Economic History Review, VOL XXXXI (1988), pp.51-74; Holderness, "'Open' and 'close' Parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries", Agricultural History Review, VOL XX (1972), pp.126-140.
Mills, "English Villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: A sociological approach", Amateur Historian, VOL VI (1965), pp.271-278, differentiate between 'open' and 'close' parishes.
For a full critique of these approaches, see Chapter one, pp.35-36.

[3] J. Compton, "The Pattern of Dissent in Staffordshire in 1851", M.A. Dissertation, University of Leicester (1989), p.49, contains the only attempt to categorise both rural and urban parishes but this approach was seen not to be rigorous enough.

[4] See for example K.S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VOL 11 1960, pp.76-86 and W.S.F. Pickering, "The 1851 Religious Census -A Useless Experiment?", British Journal of Sociology, VOL XVIII, (1967).

[5] G. Robson, "Between Town and Countryside: Contrasting patterns of churchgoing in the Black Country", in D. Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, VOL 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp.401-415.

[6] H. Mcleod, "Class, Community and Religion: The Religious Geography of nineteenth century England", in M. Hill (ed), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain (1977); C. Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, (London, 1987).

[7] R. Currie, A.D. Gilbert and L. Horsley, Church and Church-goers in the British Isles since 1700, (Oxford, 1977), pp.44-45.

[8] H. Mann, "On the statistical position of the Religious Bodies in England and Wales", Journal of the Statistical Society, VOL. XVII (1855).

[9] J.D. Walters, Charles Girdlestone and the Duties of

the Rich to the Poor, (Wolverhampton, 1973); and "The Impact of Anglican Evangelicalism on the Religious Life of Wolverhampton", M.Phil Thesis, CNAA (1983).

[10] Further details of this Census can be found in H. Macleod, op. cit..

PAGINATION AS IN ORIGINAL

Appendix 1: A list of the *Registration Districts*, **Sub-registration Districts** and identified settlements within the Region.

378 *PENKRIDGE*

(1)	**PENKRIDGE**		
	(1)	BEDNALL	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
*	(2)	TEDDESLEY HEY	part of Bednall
	(3)	PENKRIDGE	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN
	(4)	COPPENHALL	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
	(5)	DUNSTAN	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
*	(6)	KINVASTON	part of Churcheaton
	(7)	CHURCHEATON	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
(2)	**BREWOOD**		
	(1)	LAPLEY	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
	(2)	WHEATON ASTON	MIXED VILLAGE
	(3)	STRETTON	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(4)	BREWOOD	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN
*	(5)	FEATHERSTONE	part of Bushbury
	(6)	BUSHBURY	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
(3)	**CANNOCK**		
*	(1)	HILTON	part of Cannock
*	(2)	HATHERTON	part of Cannock
	(3)	SHARESHILL	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
*	(4)	SAREDON	part of Shareshill
	(5)	CANNOCK	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN
	(6)	HUNTINGTON	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
	(7)	GREAT WYRLEY	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
*	(8)	NORTON CANES	part of Great Wyrley
	(9)	CHESLYN HAY	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
	(10)	ESSINGTON	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE

379 *WOLVERHAMPTON*

(1)	**TETTENHALL**		
	(1)	CODSALL	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(2)	TETTENHALL	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN
	(3)	PATTINGHAM	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
*	(4)	RUDGE	part of Pattingham
(2)	**KINVER**		
	(1)	BOBBINGTON	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET
	(2)	ENVILLE	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(3)	KINVER	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN

(3)	**WOMBOURN**		
	(1)	HIMLEY	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(2)	WOMBOURN	MIXED VILLAGE
*	(3)	WOODFORD GRANGE	part of Trysull
	(4)	TRYSULL	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(5)	UPPER PENN)	
	(6)	LOWER PENN)	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
(4)	**WOLVERHAMPTON WESTERN**)		
			) REGIONAL CENTRE
(5)	**WOLVERHAMPTON EAST**		)
(6)	**WILLENHALL**		
	(1)	WEDNESFIELD	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(2)	WILLENHALL	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(7)	**BILSTON**		LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN

(1)	**DARLASTON**		
	(1)	DARLASTON	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(2)	BENTLEY	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
(2)	**BLOXWICH**		
	(1)	PELSALL	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
	(2)	BLOXWICH	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(3)	**WALSALL**		
	(1)	WALSALL FOREIGN)	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(2)	WALSALL BOROUGH)	
(4)	**ALDRIDGE**		
	(1)	WALSALL WOOD	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
	(2)	RUSHALL	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
	(3)	ALDRIDGE	MIXED VILLAGE
	(4)	GREAT BARR	MIXED VILLAGE

381 *WEST BROMWICH*

(1)	**HANDSWORTH**		
	(1)	HANDSWORTH	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(2)	PERRY BARR	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
(2)	**OLDBURY**		
*	(1)	WARLEY WIGORN	part of Oldbury
*	(2)	WARLEY SALOP	part of Oldbury
	(3)	OLDBURY	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(4)	LANGLEY	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
(3)	**WEST BROMWICH (SOUTH-WEST)**	)	
			) LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(4)	**WEST BROMWICH (NORTH-EAST)**	)	
(5)	**WEDNESBURY**		LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN

382 *DUDLEY*

(1)	**ROWLEY REGIS**	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(2)	**TIPTON**	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(3)	**SEDGLEY**	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(4)	**DUDLEY**	REGIONAL CENTRE

383 *STOURBRIDGE*

(1)	**HALESOWEN**		
	(1)	CRADLEY	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
*	(2)	LUTLEY	part of Halesowen
	(3)	HASBURY	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE
*	(4)	HAWN	part of Halesowen
*	(5)	CAKEMORE	part of Halesowen
	(6)	QUINTON	MIXED VILLAGE
*	(7)	HILL	part of Halesowen
	(8)	HALESOWEN	ESTABLISHED INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(9)	LAPAL	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
*	(10)	ILLEY	part of Halesowen
(2)	**STOURBRIDGE**		
	(1)	STOURBRIDGE	ESTABLISHED INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(2)	THE LYE)	
	(3)	WOLLASTON)	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(4)	WOLLESCOTE)	
	(5)	OLDSWINFORD	ESTABLISHED INDUSTRIAL TOWN
	(6)	AMBLECOTE	INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(3)	**KINGSWINFORD**		LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN

393 *KINGS NORTON*

(1)	**KINGS NORTON**		
	(1)	BEOLEY	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE
	(2)	KINGS NORTON	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN
(2)	**EDGBASTON**		
	(1)	NORTHFIELD	MIXED VILLAGE
	(2)	EDGBASTON	ESTABLISHED INDUSTRIAL TOWN
(3)	**HARBOURN**		
	(1)	HARBOURN	MIXED VILLAGE
	(2)	SMETHWICK	INDUSTRIAL TOWN

394 *BIRMINGHAM*

(1)	**LADY WOOD**)	
(2)	**ST THOMAS**)	
(3)	**ST MARTIN**)	
(4)	**ST PETER**)	
(5)	**ST PHILLIP**)	REGIONAL CENTRE
(6)	**ST PAUL**)	
(7)	**ST MARY**)	
(8)	**ST GEORGE**)	
(9)	**ALL SAINTS**)	

395 *ASTON*

(1)	**DERITEND**		
	(1) DERITEND)	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN	
	(2) BORDSLEY)		
(2)	**DUDDESTON**	LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN	
(3)	**ERDINGTON**		
	(1) ASTON	ESTABLISHED INDUSTRIAL TOWN	
*	(2) WITTON	part of Aston	
	(3) ERDINGTON	MIXED VILLAGE	
*	(4) LITTLE BROMWICH	part of Castle Bromwich	
	(5) SALTLEY	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE	
	(6) CASTLE BROMWICH	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE	
	(7) WATER ORTON	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET	
(4)	**SUTTON COLDFIELD**		
	(1) CURDWORTH	AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE	
*	(2) MINWORTH	part of Sutton Coldfield	
	(3) WISHAW	AGRICULTURAL HAMLET	
	(4) SUTTON COLDFIELD	ESTABLISHED AGRICULTURAL TOWN	

* not an identified settlement

Appendix 2: A Typology of Settlements based upon five definitional criteria.

(a) <u>functional</u> the facilities for trade, transport, communication, administration, and political representation, at a local, regional or national level;

(b) <u>spatial</u> whether it is urban or rural, in terms of population density;

(c) <u>demographic</u> the level of population and its movement;

(d) <u>economic</u> the nature and distribution of primary, secondary and tertiary sectors;

(e) <u>occupational</u> the nature and distribution of employment.

1. <u>THE AGRICULTURAL HAMLET.</u>

(a) no regular market or fair. minimal transport links

(b) rural in character.

(c) population below 600: steady or falling.

(d) principal and exclusive sector: Agriculture.

(e) very small distribution of occupations, solely in Agriculture.

2. <u>THE AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE.</u>

(a) no regular market. Possibility of agricultural fair.
transport links should be better than above.
Probably a road system with a greater sophistication than a dirt track, but only other type could be river transport.

(b) rural in character.

(c) population between 600 and 2,500: steady but not increasing quickly.

(d) principal sector: Agriculture. Possibility of some small-scale extractive or traditional industry.

(e) wider distribution of occupations including both agricultural workers and those employed in supporting agriculture, e.g toolmakers, smiths,

ostlers, coopers and wainwrights. few if any professional, commercial or retail tradespeople, the majority of which working outside the settlement.

3. THE MIXED VILLAGE

(a) no regular market, but possibility of agricultural fair.
transport links to be same if not better than in Agricultural Village.

(b) rural in character.

(c) population of between 600 and 2,500: steady or increasing.

(d) principal sector: Agriculture.
Few professional services but some commercial and retail trades.
well established and economically significant industrial sector.

(e) wide distribution of predominantly manual occupations, including both industrial and agricultural workers.
craftsmen supporting both the industrial and agricultural sectors.
A number of commercial and retail tradespeople.
Few professionals, the majority of whom worked outside the settlement.

4. THE INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE.

(a) no regular markets or fairs.
road transport links limited, but usually had either canal or rail link for the transportation of raw materials.

(b) rural in character.

(c) population between 600 and 2,500: increasing.

(d) principal and exclusive sector: industry.
little or no retail or commercial services.
no professionals.

(e) small distribution of occupations, nearly exclusively industrial manual labourers.
small number of retailers and tradespeople.

5. SMALL INDUSTRIAL TOWN.

(a) no regular market but annual or half yearly fairs.
transport link will generally include maintained roads with either canal or rail links either in settlement or in close vicinity.

(b) urban in character.

(c) population of between 2,500 and 10,000: increasing.

(d) principal and exclusive sector: industry.
some professional, commercial and retail services.
fully integrated support sector for industry.

(e) wide distribution of industrial occupations including manual labourers and support craftsmen.
some professional, commercial and retail tradespeople.

6. DECLINING ESTABLISHED TOWN.

(a) weekly market or recently discontinued market and fairs to service not only the town but also its immediate rural hinterland.
roads to at least turnpike standard, possibly on mail roads. Possibility of water link, generally river rather than canal, and rail link and station.
local administrative centre.

(b) urban in character.

(c) population of above 2,500 and below 10,000: steady or declining.

(d) main function of this town was to service a rural hinterland: fully integrated agricultural support sector.
little if any industry which would have been well established.
professional, commercial and retail services not only for town but for rural hinterland.

(e) wide range of agricultural support sector occupations including many different craftsmen.
Little industrial employment.
significant number of professional, commercial and retail tradespeople.
administrative workers.

7. EXPANDING ESTABLISHED TOWN

(a) market and fairs to service not only the town but also its immediate rural or urban hinterland.
roads to at least turnpike standard, some on mail roads.
water links predominantly canal but some on rivers,
rail link and probably station.
local administrative centre.

(b) urban in character.

(c) population of above 2,500 and below 10,000: increasing.

(d) growing industrial sector, this function was becoming more important than its function to service the immediate urban or rural hinterland: fully integrated industrial support sector and agricultural support sector for rural hinterland.
professional, commercial and retail sectors, servicing not only the town but also the hinterland.

(e) manual labourers in the industrial sector.
craftsmen involved in the support sector of both industry and agriculture.
tradespeople in the professional, commercial and retail sectors; administrative workers.

8. LARGE INDUSTRIAL TOWN

(a) at minimum, weekly market principally to supply inhabitants of the town and rural hinterland.
turnpike roads, probably on mail route. Vast majority water link would have been a canal, some on rivers. Passenger and freight rail link and station.
local administrative centre.

(b) urban in character.

(c) population between 10,000 and 30,000: increasing rapidly.

(d) growing industrial sector. Possibly also had a function to service the immediate hinterland: fully integrated industrial support sector and possibly agricultural support sector for rural hinterland.
professional, commercial retail sectors, primarily to service the industrial sector of the town.
growing administrative sector.

(e) wide distribution of industrial occupations including manual, skilled and supervisionary workers.

craftsmen to support the industrial and possibly the agricultural sector.
professional, retail, administrative and commercial workers.

9. REGIONAL CENTRE.

(a) markets held at least twice a week to service not only the town but also the regional hinterland.
places of exchange for both goods produced in the region and imported goods into the region.
turnpike roads on mail route. More than one canal, possible centre of canal system. Passenger and freight rail links with more than one station and more than one railway company.
local and regional administrative centre.
parliamentary representation.

(b) urban in character.

(c) population above 30,000: increasing rapidly.

(d) growing industrial centre.
fully integrated support sector.
support sector for region's agriculture.
professional, commercial and retail sectors to service:
(i) the industry within the centre.
(ii) the region's industrial and agricultural requirements.
(iii) to facilitate communication beyond the region, both nationally and internationally.
(iv) to give the region political, legal and trade representation at a national level.

(e) wide distribution of industrial occupations including manual, skilled and supervisionary workers.
craftsmen employed in the support sector of the industrial and agricultural sectors.
professional, administrative, commercial and retail workers, both within and beyond the region.

Appendix 3: The Overall Index of Attendance (IA) of each settlement within the Region.

NAME	DISTRICT	IA	SET
QUINTON	STOURBRIDGE	107.16	3
HARBOURN	KINGS NORTON	92.73	3
ROWLEY REGIS	DUDLEY	86.31	8
ST PHILLIPS	BIRMINGHAM	84.93	9
HALESOWEN	STOURBRIDGE	82.96	7
ALDRIDGE	WALSALL	81.59	3
HIMLEY	WOLVERHAMPTON	77.50	2
BREWOOD	PENKRIDGE	76.69	6
SEDGLEY	DUDLEY	76.28	8
CHESLYN HAY	PENKRIDGE	75.22	4
ST MARYS	BIRMINGHAM	72.29	9
SHARESHILL	PENKRIDGE	70.86	1
ST PETERS	BIRMINGHAM	68.69	9
LYE	STOURBRIDGE	68.38	5
CASTLE BROM	ASTON	67.73	2
CURDWORTH	ASTON	67.17	2
BUSHBURY	PENKRIDGE	66.60	2
W'TON WEST	WOLVERHAMPTON	64.47	9
CRADLEY	STOURBRIDGE	62.96	5
CANNOCK	PENKRIDGE	62.31	6
PENN	WOLVERHAMPTON	60.34	2
TIPTON	DUDLEY	59.77	8
WOMBOURN	WOLVERHAMPTON	58.05	3
ENVILLE	WOLVERHAMPTON	55.76	2
KINVER	WOLVERHAMPTON	55.68	6
OLDBURY	WEST BROMWICH	54.42	8
TETTENHALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	54.00	6
BOBBINGTON	WOLVERHAMPTON	53.51	1
WEDNESBURY	WEST BROMWICH	52.97	8
DUDLEY	DUDLEY	52.96	9
PERRY BARR	WEST BROMWICH	52.16	2
STOURBRIDGE	STOURBRIDGE	52.00	8
WHEATON ASTON	PENKRIDGE	51.97	3
WEST BROMWICH	WEST BROMWICH	51.25	8
SUTTON COLD.	ASTON	51.14	6
WALSALL BORO'	WALSALL	50.03	7
BILSTON	WOLVERHAMPTON	49.79	8
CODSALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	49.71	2
KINGSWINFORD	STOURBRIDGE	49.50	8
OLD SWINFORD	STOURBRIDGE	49.49	5

NAME	DISTRICT	IA	SET
CHURCHEATON	PENKRIDGE	48.17	2
PATTINGHAM	WOLVERHAMPTON	47.07	2
TRYSULL	WOLVERHAMPTON	45.62	2
WILLENHALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	45.23	8
BLOXWICH	WALSALL	45.03	5
DARLASTON	WALSALL	44.69	8
RUSHALL	WALSALL	43.73	4
AMBLECOTE	STOURBRIDGE	43.68	5
STRETTON	PENKRIDGE	42.60	1
PENKRIDGE	PENKRIDGE	42.17	6
WISHAW	ASTON	41.84	1
DERITEND	ASTON	40.88	8
LAPAL	STOURBRIDGE	40.64	2
ESSINGTON	PENKRIDGE	39.91	4
WALSALL FOR	WALSALL	39.68	8
ST MARTINS	BIRMINGHAM	38.59	9
BEOLEY	KINGS NORTON	37.46	2
WATER ORTON	ASTON	37.37	1
PELSALL	WALSALL	37.28	4
KINGS NORTON	KINGS NORTON	36.05	6
BROWNHILLS	PENKRIDGE	35.43	4
SMETHWICK	KINGS NORTON	35.31	5
LAPLEY	PENKRIDGE	33.60	1
ST GEORGES	BIRMINGHAM	32.54	9
NORTHFIELD	KINGS NORTON	31.30	3
WEDNESFIELD	WOLVERHAMPTON	29.97	5
COPPENHALL	PENKRIDGE	29.67	1
ST THOMAS	BIRMINGHAM	29.19	9
ASTON	ASTON	29.01	7
W'TON EAST	WOLVERHAMPTON	28.80	9
BENTLEY	WALSALL	27.63	4
LADY WOOD	BIRMINGHAM	26.10	9
DUDDESTON	ASTON	26.05	8
HUNTINGTON	PENKRIDGE	25.95	1
ST PAULS	BIRMINGHAM	25.77	9
SALTLEY	ASTON	23.98	2
HANDSWORTH	WEST BROMWICH	23.36	5
HASBURY	STOURBRIDGE	22.98	4
BEDNALL	PENKRIDGE	22.29	2
ALL SAINTS	BIRMINGHAM	21.75	9
ERDINGTON	ASTON	21.70	4
GREAT BARR	WALSALL	21.17	3
EDGBASTON	KINGS NORTON	20.28	7
WALSALL WOOD	WALSALL	19.09	4
GREAT WYRLEY	PENKRIDGE	17.84	4
DUNSTAN	PENKRIDGE	16.99	1
LANGLEY	WEST BROMWICH	15.55	4

Appendix 4: The Overall Index of Accommodation (IAcc) for each settlement within the Region.

NAME	DISTRICT	IACC	SET
BOBBINGTON	WOLVERHAMPTON	116.88	1
SHARESHILL	PENKRIDGE	104.68	1
QUINTON	STOURBRIDGE	100.32	3
LAPLEY	PENKRIDGE	100.00	1
ST PHILLIPS	BIRMINGHAM	97.26	9
WISHAW	ASTON	90.42	1
COPPENHALL	PENKRIDGE	87.91	1
WATER ORTON	ASTON	78.95	1
PELSALL	WALSALL	77.03	4
WHEATON ASTON	PENKRIDGE	75.17	3
HARBOURN	KINGS NORTON	74.48	3
BREWOOD	PENKRIDGE	73.80	6
GREAT WYRLEY	PENKRIDGE	72.82	4
PERRY BARR	WEST BROMWICH	70.79	2
CANNOCK	PENKRIDGE	70.22	6
CASTLE BROM	ASTON	69.10	2
SUTTON C'FIELD	ASTON	67.47	6
CHESLYN HAY	PENKRIDGE	66.55	4
HALESOWEN	STOURBRIDGE	65.74	7
BEDNALL	PENKRIDGE	63.89	2
TRYSULL	WOLVERHAMPTON	60.82	2
CRADLEY	STOURBRIDGE	60.30	5
ENVILLE	WOLVERHAMPTON	59.48	2
PENKRIDGE	PENKRIDGE	59.14	6
STOURBRIDGE	STOURBRIDGE	58.21	7
WALSALL BORO'	WALSALL	56.23	7
WOMBOURN	WOLVERHAMPTON	56.20	3
BUSHBURY	PENKRIDGE	56.08	2
ST PETERS	BIRMINGHAM	54.88	9
SALTLEY	ASTON	54.72	2
WEDNESBURY	WEST BROMWICH	54.49	8
ALDRIDGE	WALSALL	54.13	3
OLDBURY	WEST BROMWICH	53.42	8
HIMLEY	WOLVERHAMPTON	52.25	2
OLD SWINFORD	STOURBRIDGE	51.32	7
ROWLEY REGIS	DUDLEY	50.68	8
LYE	STOURBRIDGE	49.58	5
TIPTON	DUDLEY	48.61	8
KINVER	WOLVERHAMPTON	48.43	6
ERDINGTON	ASTON	47.68	3
KINGSWINFORD	STOURBRIDGE	47.34	8

NAME	DISTRICT	IACC	SET
BROWNHILLS	PENKRIDGE	47.31	4
DUNSTAN	PENKRIDGE	46.63	1
ESSINGTON	PENKRIDGE	46.59	4
BEOLEY	KINGS NORTON	46.48	2
CURDWORTH	ASTON	45.03	2
LANGLEY	WEST BROMWICH	44.92	3
WALSALL WOOD	WALSALL	44.75	4
PATTINGHAM	WOLVERHAMPTON	44.20	2
SEDGLEY	DUDLEY	43.65	8
DUDLEY	DUDLEY	43.01	9
STRETTON	PENKRIDGE	42.90	1
CHURCHEATON	PENKRIDGE	42.81	2
HANDSWORTH	WEST BROMWICH	41.86	5
PENN	WOLVERHAMPTON	41.55	2
WILLENHALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	41.14	8
RUSHALL	WALSALL	40.65	4
CODSALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	39.92	2
DARLASTON	WALSALL	38.81	8
WEST BROMWICH	WEST BROMWICH	38.40	8
ALL SAINTS	BIRMINGHAM	37.04	9
LAPAL	STOURBRIDGE	36.95	2
NORTHFIELD	KINGS NORTON	36.34	3
W'TON WEST	WOLVERHAMPTON	36.17	8
W'TON EAST	WOLVERHAMPTON	36.04	8
TETTENHALL	WOLVERHAMPTON	33.86	6
BLOXWICH	WALSALL	33.73	5
BILSTON	WOLVERHAMPTON	33.54	8
ST MARYS	BIRMINGHAM	33.47	9
AMBLECOTE	STOURBRIDGE	33.37	5
HUNTINGTON	PENKRIDGE	31.65	1
WALSALL FOR	WALSALL	29.95	8
KINGS NORTON	KINGS NORTON	29.04	6
BENTLEY	WALSALL	26.32	4
LADY WOOD	BIRMINGHAM	26.14	9
GREAT BARR	WALSALL	25.97	3
WEDNESFIELD	WOLVERHAMPTON	25.79	5
ST MARTINS	BIRMINGHAM	24.92	9
ST GEORGES	BIRMINGHAM	23.58	9
DERITEND	ASTON	23.11	8
ASTON MANOR	ASTON	22.56	7
DUDDESTON	ASTON	20.95	8
ST THOMAS	BIRMINGHAM	19.86	9
SMETHWICK	KINGS NORTON	17.71	5
ST PAULS	BIRMINGHAM	17.59	9
HASBURY	STOURBRIDGE	14.98	4
EDGBASTON	KINGS NORTON	14.43	7

Appendix 5: Free Sittings.

Table 1: Percentage of Free Sittings for Each Denomination.

DENOM	%	NO. OF CHURCHES
Primitive Methodists	73.8%	33
Catholic	73.5%	14
Methodists	57.1%	103
Wesleyan Methodists	57.6%	50
Independent	56.3%	35
Meth. New Connexion	53.4%	20
Church of England	44.9%	81
Baptists	41.7%	30

Table 2: Percentage of Free Sittings for Each Settlement Type.

TYPE	COE %	METH %	OTH %	TOT %
IND. VILLAGE	64.6	87.6	100	82.6
MIXED VILLAGE	55.9	82.9	75.2	71.8
EST. AGR. TOWN	38.7	74.2	81.1	67.5
IND. TOWN	40.7	61.3	47.8	51.2
LARGE IND. TOWN	45.5	50.1	47.5	48.9
AGR. VILLAGE	46.0	61.3	20.0	47.1
AGR. HAMLET	28.2	61.3	100	46.4
REGIONAL CENTRE	49.7	50.6	40.4	46.0
EST. IND. TOWN	33.1	37.5	47.9	41.0

Table 3: % of Free Anglican Sittings for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETT. WITH CHURCHES
IND. VILLAGE	64.55%	7
MIXED VILLAGE	55.89%	8
REGIONAL CENTRE	49.65%	12
AGR. VILLAGE	46.03%	14
LARGE IND. TOWN	45.52%	12
IND. TOWN	40.74%	7
EST. AGR. TOWN	38.66%	7
EST. IND. TOWN	33.07%	6
AGR. HAMLET	28.18%	7

Table 4: % of Free Anglican Sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	DUNSTAN		1	100
	LAPAL		2	100
	NORTHFIELD		3	100
	GREAT WYRLEY		4	100
	ESSINGTON		4	100
6.	PERRY BARR		3	89.66
7.	WALSALL WOOD		4	79.34
8.	BEDNALL		2	76.74
9.	PELSALL		4	76.58
10.	LYE		5	75.00
11.	SALTLEY		2	73.30
12.	CODSALL		2	73.17
13.	KINGSWINFORD		8	66.75
14.	ST THOMAS		9	66.40
15.	QUINTON		3	66.28
16.	ST GEORGES		9	63.33
17.	ST PHILLIPS		9	61.84
18.	HIMLEY		2	60.77
19	WOLVERHAMPTON WEST		9	59.50
20.	SMETHWICK		5	59.16
21.	ST PETERS		9	58.59
22.	ERDINGTON		3	57.14
23	ALL SAINTS		9	56.90
24.	SEDGLEY		8	56.81
25.	WEDNESBURY		8	56.22
26.	AMBLECOTE		5	55.56
27.	SUTTON COLDFIELD		6	54.19
28.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	53.47
29.	WEST BROMWICH		8	53.36
30.	DUDLEY		9	52.58
31.	ROWLEY REGIS		8	52.46
32.	WILLENHALL		8	50.00
33.	KINGS NORTON		6	49.40
34.	BREWOOD		6	49.38
35.	BEOLEY		2	49.02
36.	BILSTON		8	48.81
	WEDNESFIELD		5	48.81
38.	BROWNHILLS		4	48.32
39.	RUSHALL		4	47.54
40.	WALSALL BOROUGH		7	47.02
41.	HARBOURN		3	43.47
42.	OLDSWINFORD		7	42.85
43.	STOURBRIDGE		7	42.13
44.	PENKRIDGE		6	41.67
45.	WALSALL FOREIGN		8	41.30
46.	TRYSULL		2	41.18

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
47.	HALESOWEN		7	40.48
48.	CASTLE BROMWICH		2	39.39
49.	GREAT BARR		3	38.46
50.	DERITEND		8	37.21
51.	ST PAULS		9	37.04
52.	KINVER		6	36.11
53.	CHURCHEATON		2	35.71
54.	DUDDESTON		8	35.57
55.	ENVILLE		2	33.33
56.	WISHAW		1	33.33
57.	LADY WOOD		9	33.00
58.	BUSHBURY		2	31.11
59.	WOMBOURN		3	31.10
60.	TIPTON		8	31.03
61.	TETTENHALL		6	30.09
62.	BLOXWICH		5	26.67
63.	ST MARYS		9	26.63
64.	PENN		2	26.61
65.	ST MARTINS		9	26.47
66.	BOBBINGTON		1	23.08
	STRETTON		1	23.08
	WHEATON ASTON		3	23.08
69.	EDGBASTON		7	22.70
70.	ALDRIDGE		3	20.99
71.	HANDSWORTH		5	20.00
72.	COPPENHALL		1	15.00
73.	DARLASTON		8	16.73
74.	CANNOCK		6	9.75
75.	PATTINGHAM		2	3.61
76.	ASTON		7	3.22
77.	SHARESHILL		1	2.75
78.	CURDWORTH		2	0.00
	LAPLEY		1	0.00
	LANGLEY		4	0.00
	CRADLEY		5	0.00

Table 5: % of Free Sittings in Wesleyan chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS
IND. VILLAGE	90.51%	5
AGR. HAMLET	88.89%	3
MIXED VILLAGE	72.92%	5
AGR. VILLAGE	61.31%	3
EST. AGR. TOWN	58.92%	7
REGIONAL CENTRE	49.21%	7
IND. TOWN	48.57%	3
LARGE IND. TOWN	46.74%	14
EST. IND. TOWN	26.57%	2

Table 6: % of Free Wesleyan Sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	WATER ORTON		1	100
	HUNTINGTON		1	100
	QUINTON		3	100
	LANGLEY		4	100
	GREAT WYRLEY		4	100
	WALSALL WOOD		4	100
7.	PELSALL		4	83.33
8.	CASTLE BROMWICH		2	80.65
9..	BEOLEY		2	80.00
10.	WOLVERHAMPTON WEST		9	78.83
11.	WOMBOURN		3	76.92
12.	CANNOCK		6	74.45
13	BREWOOD		6	74.36
14.	ALDRIDGE		3	73.68
15.	WEDNESFIELD		5	71.42
16.	ESSINGTON		4	69.23
17.	BOBBINGTON		1	66.67
18.	BLOXWICH		5	66.67
19.	WALSALL FOREIGN		8	64.21
20.	NORTHFIELD		3	62.28
21.	KINGS NORTON		6	59.09
22.	TETTENHALL		6	58.82
23.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	58.38
24.	SEDGLEY		8	58.12
25.	DUDDESTON		8	57.06
26.	ALL SAINTS		9	56.81
27.	SUTTON COLDFIELD		6	55.94
28.	ST THOMAS		9	55.92
29.	HARBOURN		3	51.72
30.	DERITEND		8	51.65
31.	ROWLEY REGIS		8	48.47
32.	DUDLEY		9	48.02
33.	BILSTON		8	47.48
34.	DARLASTON		8	46.71
35.	PENKRIDGE		6	46.67
36.	WEST BROMWICH		8	45.64
37.	KINVER		6	43.09
38.	WEDNESBURY		8	41.80
39.	ST MARYS		9	41.67
40.	LYE		5	40.00
41.	ST GEORGES		9	39.58
42.	WILLENHALL		8	39.32
43.	CRADLEY		5	34.29
44.	OLDBURY		8	32.93
45.	KINGSWINFORD		8	32.51
46.	TIPTON		8	30.00
47.	CODSALL		2	29.29
48.	WALSALL BOROUGH		7	28.13
49.	STOURBRIDGE		7	25.00
50.	ST PHILLIPS		9	23.33

Table 7: % of Free Sittings in Primitive Methodist chapel for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS
EST. AGR. TOWN	98.62%	4
MIXED VILLAGE	91.03%	4
IND. VILLAGE	86.62%	5
IND. TOWN	69.94%	4
REGIONAL CENTRE	63.64%	4
LARGE IND. TOWN	59.21%	12

Table 8: % of Free Primitive sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	WOMBOURN		3	100
	WHEATON ASTON		3	100
	NORTHFIELD		3	100
	LANGLEY		4	100
	BENTLEY		4	100
	CRADLEY		5	100
	BREWOOD		6	100
	PENKRIDGE		6	100
	CANNOCK		6	100
10.	KINGS NORTON		6	92.06
11.	ST GEORGES		9	86.74
12.	WALSALL FOREIGN		8	86.27
13.	CHESLYN HAY		4	80.65
14.	SMETHWICK		5	76.92
15.	HASBURY		4	76.47
16.	SEDGLEY		8	75.88
17.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	74.32
18.	BENTLEY		4	70.00
19.	BILSTON		8	69.20
20.	WEST BROMWICH		8	69.11
21.	ROWLEY REGIS		8	64.06
22.	QUINTON		3	64.10
23.	WILLENHALL		8	62.75
24.	TIPTON		8	56.50
25.	DUDDESTON		8	55.56
26.	BLOXWICH		5	54.84
27.	ST THOMAS		9	53.33
28.	OLDBURY		8	51.59
29.	LYE		5	48.00
30.	WEDNESBURY		8	42.55
31.	DARLASTON		8	41.67
32.	DUDLEY		9	40.17
33.	KINGSWINFORD		8	35.39

Table 9: % of Free Sittings in Methodist New Connexion chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS
MIXED VILLAGE	100%	1
EST. AGR. TOWN	83.33%	1
IND. VILLAGE	80.75%	1
IND. TOWN	63.02%	2
EST. IND. TOWN	48.33%	2
LARGE IND. TOWN	46.67%	9
REGIONAL CENTRE	40.15%	4

Table 10: % of Free New Connexion sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	HARBOURN		3	100
	CRADLEY		5	100
	WILLENHALL		8	100
4.	CHESLYN HAY		4	80.75
5.	KINGS NORTON		6	83.33
6.	WEST BROMWICH		8	62.65
7.	DUDLEY		9	56.36
8.	KINGSWINFORD		8	50.87
9.	HALESOWEN		7	50.15
10.	SEDGLEY		8	48.06
11.	STOURBRIDGE		7	46.51
12.	TIPTON		8	44.78
13.	ST GEORGES		9	41.30
14.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	37.13
15.	OLDBURY		8	33.18
16.	BILSTON		8	31.71
17.	LYE		5	26.04
18.	ST MARTINS		9	25.81
19.	WEDNESBURY		8	25.00
20.	ROWLEY REGIS		8	21.80

Table 11: % of Free Sittings in Baptists chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS.
IND. VILLAGE	100%	1
EST. AGR. TOWN	69.64%	3
MIXED VILLAGE	55.91%	1
IND. TOWN	54.08%	2
REGIONAL CENTRE	37.27%	9
LARGE IND. TOWN	35.60%	11
EST. IND. TOWN	25.33%	2

Table 12: % of Free Baptist sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	BROWNHILLS		4	100
	SMETHWICK		5	100
	LADY WOOD		9	100
4.	KINGS NORTON		6	85.45
5.	SUTTON COLDFIELD		6	80.00
6.	WALSALL FOREIGN		8	77.53
7.	SEDGLEY		8	59.35
8.	ALL SAINTS		9	59.28
9.	ERDINGTON		3	55.91
10.	WILLENHALL		8	48.72
11.	ST PHILLIPS		9	46.33
12.	BILSTON		8	46.15
13.	HALESOWEN		6	43.48
14.	DERITEND		8	37.32
15.	DUDDESTON		8	35.78
16.	WEDNESBURY		8	33.33
17.	ST GEORGES		9	31.85
18.	WALSALL BOROUGH		7	30.66
19.	ROWLEY REGIS		8	27.54
20.	ST PAULS		9	25.00
	DUDLEY		9	25.00
22.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	22.96
23.	WEST BROMWICH		8	22.25
24.	WOLVERHAMPTON WEST		9	20.00
	KINGSWINFORD		8	20.00
	OLDBURY		8	20.00
	STOURBRIDGE		7	20.00
28.	TIPTON		8	19.16
29.	CRADLEY		5	8.16
30.	ST MARTINS		9	5.00

Table 13:. % of Free Sittings in Independent chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS.
IND. VILLAGE	100%	3
EST. AGR. TOWN	85.26%	4
MIXED VILLAGE	73.42%	3
LARGE IND. TOWN.	50.32%	10
IND. TOWN	43.59%	3
REGIONAL CENTRE	37.55%	7
EST. IND. TOWN	33.82%	4
AGR. VILLAGE	20.00%	1

Table 14: % of Free Independent sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	LANGLEY		4	100
	BROWNHILLS		4	100
	RUSHALL		4	100
	WHEATON ASTON		3	100
	BREWOOD		6	100
	PENKRIDGE		6	100
	DARLASTON		8	100
	SEDGLEY		8	100
9.	KINGS NORTON		6	82.05
10.	WOMBOURN		3	68.25
11.	CANNOCK		6	58.97
12.	DERITEND		8	58.57
13.	DUDDESTON		8	57.14
14.	ST PHILLIPS		9	55.26
15.	WEDNESBURY		8	53.33
16.	ERDINGTON		3	52.00
17.	LYE		5	50.00
18.	SMETHWICK		5	47.49
19.	STOURBRIDGE		7	46.00
20.	LADY WOOD		9	44.67
21.	WEST BROMWICH		8	44.02
22.	WOLVERHAMPTON EAST		9	41.16
23.	TIPTON		8	39.02
24.	ST MARYS		9	38.78
25.	DUDLEY		9	35.65
26.	HALESOWEN		7	35.50
27.	HANDSWORTH		5	33.28
28.	ASTON		7	31.57
29.	ST PETERS		9	27.31
30.	OLDBURY		8	25.00
	WALSALL BOROUGH		7	22.22
31.	ALL SAINTS		9	20.00
32.	PERRY BARR		2	20.00
33.	BILSTON		8	16.67
34.	KINGSWINFORD		8	9.47

Table 15: % of Free Sittings in Catholic chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS
MIXED VILLAGE	100%	1
EST AGR. TOWN	90.00%	2
EST. IND. TOWN	81.81%	3
LARGE IND. TOWN	73.39%	4
REGIONAL CENTRE	52.62%	4

Table 16: % of Free Catholic sittings in each settlement

POS.	NAME	SET.	TYPE	%
1.	ERDINGTON		3	100
	BREWOOD		6	100
	ASTON		7	100
	STOURBRIDGE		7	100
	DERITEND		8	100
	ST MARTINS		9	100
7.	SEDGLEY		8	92.99
8.	SUTTON COLDFIELD		6	80.00
9.	BILSTON		8	75.00
10.	DUDLEY		9	62.70
11.	WALSALL BOROUGH		7	51.43
12.	LADY WOOD		9	42.11
13.	WALSALL FOREIGN		8	28.57
14.	WOLVERHAMPTON WEST		9	5.66

Table 17: % of Free Sittings in Unitarian chapels for each Settlement Type.

TYPE	%	SETTS WITH CHAPS
EST. AG. TOWN	100	1
LARGE IND. TOWN	66.67	1
IND. TOWN	51.25	2
REGIONAL CENTRE	50.91	4

Table 18: % of Free Unitarian sittings in each settlement

1.	LYE	5	100
	KINGS NORTON	6	100
	ST MARTINS	9	100
4.	OLDBURY	8	66.67
5.	ST PETERS	9	55.12
6.	ST PHILLIPS	9	36.78
7.	LADY WOOD	9	11.76
8.	CRADLEY	5	2.50

APPENDIX 6: The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Church of England in those settlements with an Anglican presence.

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
* HIMLEY	WOL	2	77.50	100	52.25
* SHARESHILL	PEN	1	70.86	100	104.68
* CURDWORTH	AST	2	67.17	100	45.03
ALDRIDGE	WAL	3	66.50	81.5	37.94
BUSHBURY	PEN	2	63.56	95.4	53.04
* PENN	WOL	2	60.34	100	41.55
* ENVILLE	WOL	2	55.76	100	59.48
* CASTLE BROM	AST	2	54.64	100	54.72
* OLD SWINFORD	STO	5	49.49	100	51.32
* CHURCHEATON	PEN	2	48.17	100	48.81
* PATTINGHAM	WOL	2	47.07	100	44.20
CODSALL	WOL	2	46.53	93.6	33.05
* TRYSULL	WOL	2	45.62	100	60.82
BOBBINGTON	WOL	1	44.66	83.5	101.30
TETTENHALL	WOL	6	44.17	81.8	29.86
BREWOOD	PEN	6	43.39	56.6	45.89
* STRETTON	PEN	1	42.60	100	42.90
* WISHAW	AST	1	41.84	100	90.42
HARBOURN	KIN	3	41.98	48.8	48.94
SUTTON COLD.	AST	6	41.15	80.5	55.15
QUINTON	STO	3	41.03	38.3	64.64
KINVER	WOL	6	40.15	72.1	37.60
W'TON WEST	WOL	9	39.65	52.6	23.85
PERRY BARR	WES	2	38.70	74.2	34.86
ST PETERS	BIR	9	37.10	54.0	33.62
HALESOWEN	STO	7	35.43	42.7	37.50
ST PHILLIPS	BIR	9	35.04	41.3	41.08
* LAPLEY	PEN	1	33.60	100	100.00
CANNOCK	PEN	6	30.92	46.9	29.30
BEOLEY	KIN	2	30.58	81.6	31.19
* COPPENHALL	PEN	1	29.67	100	87.91
AMBLECOTE	STO	5	29.44	67.4	29.64
PENKRIDGE	PEN	6	29.37	69.6	45.06
WATER ORTON	AST	1	28.95	77.5	63.16
ST MARTINS	BIR	9	27.37	70.9	15.75
SMETHWICK	KIN	5	27.46	77.6	9.38
WALSALL BORO'	WAL	7	26.94	53.8	27.69
ROWLEY REGIS	DUD	8	24.23	28.1	22.84
* SALTLEY	AST	2	23.98	100	54.72
WEDNESBURY	WES	8	22.52	45.2	30.80

DERITEND	AST	8	22.34	54.6	9.28
* BEDNALL	PEN	2	22.29	100	63.89
NORTHFIELD	KIN	3	21.79	69.6	24.63
NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
* GREAT BARR	WAL	3	21.17	100	25.97
CRADLEY	STO	5	20.84	33.1	17.74
* EDGBASTON	KIN	7	20.28	100	14.43
KINGSWINFORD	STO	8	19.62	39.6	24.38
RUSHALL	WAL	4	19.37	44.3	15.67
BLOXWICH	WAL	5	18.78	41.7	16.75
WEDNESFIELD	WOL	5	18.75	62.6	17.72
BILSTON	WOL	8	18.23	31.8	13.29
BROWNHILLS	PEN	4	17.87	50.4	30.79
ST THOMAS	BIR	9	17.49	59.9	10.39
PELSALL	WAL	4	17.40	46.7	55.83
ESSINGTON	PEN	4	17.39	43.6	26.40
WOMBOURN	WOL	3	17.39	30.0	32.04
* DUNSTAN	PEN	1	16.99	100	48.81
ST MARYS	BIR	9	16.51	22.8	8.59
WEST BROMWICH	WES	8	16.02	30.2	12.79
KINGS NORTON	KIN	6	15.96	44.3	6.44
STOURBRIDGE	STO	8	15.44	29.7	11.97
SEDGLEY	DUD	8	14.85	19.5	20.48
ST GEORGES	BIR	9	14.68	45.1	8.51
WILLENHALL	WOL	8	14.23	31.7	8.38
W'TON EAST	WOL	9	14.15	49.1	23.85
ASTON	AST	7	14.01	48.3	9.65
DUDLEY	DUD	9	13.87	26.2	15.00
ST PAULS	BIR	9	12.86	49.9	11.46
HANDSWORTH	WES	5	12.77	54.7	31.93
WHEATON ASTON	PEN	3	12.64	24.3	18.26
WALSALL WOOD	WAL	4	12.26	64.2	37.30
TIPTON	DUD	8	12.20	20.4	20.50
WALSALL FOR	WAL	8	11.13	28.1	13.99
LYE	STO	5	10.64	15.6	16.95
DUDDESTON	AST	8	10.05	38.6	8.73
ERDINGTON	AST	4	8.82	40.6	23.84
OLDBURY	WES	8	8.72	16.0	14.77
LANGLEY	WES	4	8.64	27.8	4.92
DARLASTON	WAL	8	7.70	17.2	10.39
ALL SAINTS	BIR	9	5.01	23.0	8.64
LADY WOOD	BIR	9	3.40	13.0	4.96

* denotes a settlement with an Anglican monopoly.

APPENDIX 7: The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Methodists in those settlements with a Methodist presence.

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
* CHESLYN HAY	PEN	4	75.22	100	66.56
QUINTON	STO	3	66.13	61.8	35.68
LYE	STO	5	50.19	73.5	22.47
ROWLEY REGIS	DUD	8	50.02	70.6	35.54
SEDGLEY	DUD	8	40.57	53.2	13.30
HARBOURN	KIN	3	40.13	43.3	6.22
TIPTON	DUD	8	38.00	63.5	23.41
OLDBURY	WES	8	33.43	61.5	26.83
* BENTLEY	WAL	4	27.63	100	26.32
WILLENHALL	WOL	8	26.85	59.4	22.95
DARLASTON	WAL	8	26.83	81.0	25.40
KINGSWINFORD	STO	8	26.64	53.6	19.41
BLOXWICH	WAL	5	26.25	40.8	16.97
BILSTON	WOL	8	26.16	46.9	11.54
HUNTINGTON	PEN	1	25.95	100	31.65
DUDLEY	DUD	9	25.53	47.8	16.95
CRADLEY	STO	5	25.48	40.6	16.27
WEST BROMWICH	WES	8	25.10	47.4	15.92
* HASBURY	STO	4	22.98	100	14.58
ESSINGTON	PEN	4	22.52	56.4	20.19
HALESOWEN	STO	7	21.43	25.9	15.48
WEDNESBURY	WES	8	21.19	42.6	17.85
W'TON WEST	WOL	9	19.89	26.4	5.03
PELSALL	WAL	4	19.88	53.3	21.20
* GREAT WYRLEY	PEN	4	17.84	100	12.14
RUSHALL	WAL	4	17.68	40.4	9.56
CANNOCK	PEN	6	16.87	27.0	16.62
KINVER	WOL	6	15.53	27.9	10.83
ALDRIDGE	WAL	3	15.09	18.5	16.20
WHEATON ASTON	PEN	3	14.61	28.2	10.56
AMBLECOTE	STO	5	14.23	32.6	8.69
CASTLE BROM	AST	2	13.15	19.4	18.87
WEDNESFIELD	WOL	5	13.09	37.4	8.07
ST GEORGES	BIR	9	11.22	32.8	10.07
STOURBRIDGE	STO	8	11.10	25.4	19.40
WALSALL BORO'	WAL	7	10.39	20.8	7.31
ST PHILLIPS	BIR	9	10.27	12.1	13.53
TETTENHALL	WOL	6	9.83	18.2	4.00
NORTHFIELD	KIN	3	9.51	30.4	11.71
ST THOMAS	BIR	9	9.43	31.9	6.91

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
WOMBOURN	WOL	3	9.22	15.8	6.67
BREWOOD	PEN	6	8.95	11.7	6.17
PENKRIDGE	PEN	6	8.79	20.8	9.56
BOBBINGTON	WOL	1	8.83	16.5	15.58
WATER ORTON	AST	1	8.42	22.5	15.79
KINGS NORTON	KIN	6	7.26	20.2	11.32
BEOLEY	KIN	2	6.88	18.4	15.29
WALSALL WOOD	WAL	4	6.83	35.8	7.44
WALSALL FOR	WAL	8	6.77	17.1	6.28
DUDDESTON	AST	8	6.73	25.8	7.06
LANGLEY	WES	3	6.40	21.6	4.92
ST MARYS	BIR	9	5.89	8.1	3.05
W'TON EAST	WOL	9	5.35	17.2	4.68
DERITEND	AST	8	3.81	9.3	4.83
ALL SAINTS	BIR	9	3.84	17.7	3.24
CODSALL	WOL	2	3.18	6.4	6.86
ST MARTINS	BIR	9	2.27	5.9	1.47
SMETHWICK	KIN	5	1.19	3.4	1.55
SUTTON COLD	AST	6	1.07	2.1	2.94

* denotes a settlement with a Methodist monopoly

APPENDIX 8: The Index of Attendance (IA), Index of Accommodation (IAcc) and Percentage Share (PS) achieved by the Baptists, Independents, Catholics and Unitarians.

BAPTIST

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
LAPAL	STO	2	40.64	100	36.95
ROWLEY REGIS	DUD	8	12.05	14.0	5.16
ST PHILLIP	BIR	9	11.78	13.9	12.27
ST PAUL	BIR	9	11.63	45.1	3.39
SEDGLEY	DUD	8	9.03	11.8	5.92
WALSALL FOR	WAL	8	8.51	21.5	3.66
KINGS NORTON	KIN	6	8.42	23.4	7.09
DUDDESTON	AST	8	8.42	32.3	4.44
ALL SAINTS	BIR	9	7.75	35.6	17.80
LANGLEY	WES	3	7.54	25.5	5.72
CRADLEY	STO	5	6.21	9.9	14.48
DUDLEY	DUD	9	5.46	10.3	3.16
ST GEORGE	BIR	9	4.74	14.6	2.67
WILLENHALL	WOL	8	4.07	9.0	9.81
WEDNESBURY	WES	8	3.29	6.6	2.10
STOURBRIDGE	STO	7	3.21	6.2	4.66
DERITEND	AST	8	3.17	7.8	2.45
BILSTON	WOL	8	2.87	5.0	2.76
TIPTON	DUD	8	2.81	4.7	2.31
WEST. BROM	WES	8	2.45	4.6	2.02
OLDBURY	WES	8	2.09	3.8	1.48
WALSALL BOR	WAL	8	1.51	3.0	8.56
W'TON EAST	WOL	9	1.45	5.0	1.08
SMETHWICK	KIN	5	1.31	3.7	2.51
W'TON WEST	WOL	9	1.30	2.0	1.42
SUTTON COLD	AST	6	0.77	1.5	1.54
KINGSWINFORD	STO	8	0.70	1.4	0.92
LADY WOOD	BIR	9	0.30	1.1	0.35

INDEPENDENTS

WOMBOURN	WOL	3	29.30	50.5	15.70
HALESOWEN	STO	7	26.10	31.5	12.76
WHEATON ASTON	PEN	3	24.72	47.6	46.35
ST PETER	BIR	9	23.67	34.5	13.51
BROWNHILLS	PEN	4	17.56	49.6	16.53
CANNOCK	PEN	6	11.77	18.9	18.58
ERDINGTON	AST	3	11.63	53.6	17.03
ST MARY	BIR	9	9.99	13.8	11.00

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
WALSALL BOR	WAL	8	8.05	16.1	10.27
HANDSWORTH	WES	5	7.46	32.0	8.23
WEDNESBURY	WES	8	7.21	13.6	3.51
LYE	STO	5	7.12	10.4	6.78
RUSHALL	WAL	4	6.68	15.3	15.42
OLDBURY	WES	8	6.35	11.7	5.91
SEDGLEY	DUD	8	6.24	8.2	2.30
W'TON EAST	WOL	9	6.12	21.2	6.34
WEST. BROMWICH	WES	8	6.10	11.9	5.93
STOURBRIDGE	STO	7	6.04	11.6	6.00
BREWOOD	PEN	6	5.67	7.4	10.52
SMETHWICK	WES	5	5.41	15.3	4.27
ALL SAINTS	BIR	9	5.15	23.7	7.36
TIPTON	DUD	8	5.11	8.5	1.65
PERRY BARR	WES	2	4.45	8.5	15.02
LANGLEY	WES	3	4.38	14.8	6.06
ASTON	AST	7	3.49	12.0	5.91
DUDLEY	DUD	9	3.45	6.5	3.10
DERITEND	AST	8	3.03	7.4	3.02
SUTTON COLD	AST	6	2.80	5.5	4.02
BILSTON	WOL	8	2.68	4.7	2.55
PENKRIDGE	PEN	6	2.25	5.3	2.82
KINGSWINFORD	STO	8	2.01	4.1	1.93
LADY WOOD	BIR	9	1.92	7.4	1.71
ST PHILLIP	BIR	9	1.71	2.0	3.43
DUDDESTON	AST	8	0.85	3.3	0.72
DARLASTON	WAL	8	0.81	1.8	3.02

CATHOLIC

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
BREWOOD	PEN	6	18.68	24.4	11.22
WALSALL FOR	WAL	8	13.26	33.4	5.63
W'TON WEST	WOL	9	11.90	18.5	3.60
ASTON	AST	7	11.20	38.6	7.00
PERRY BARR	WES	2	9.01	17.3	20.91
STOURBRIDGE	STO	7	9.01	17.3	2.12
DERITEND	AST	8	8.03	19.6	2.24
ERDINGTON	AST	3	6.23	28.7	6.81
BILSTON	WOL	8	6.08	10.6	2.64
SUTTON COLD	AST	6	5.36	10.5	5.15
LADY WOOD	BIR	9	4.41	16.9	3.01
DUDLEY	DUD	9	3.50	6.6	1.68
WALSALL BOR	WAL	8	3.15	6.3	2.40
BUSHBURY	PEN	2	3.04	4.6	3.04
SEDGLEY	DUD	8	2.59	3.4	1.65
ST MARTINS	BIR	9	1.78	4.6	1.21
WEST BROM	WES	8	1.45	2.7	0.87

UNITARIAN

NAME	DIS	SET	IA	PS	IACC
CRADLEY	STO	5	10.43	16.6	11.82
ST PETER	BIR	9	7.92	11.5	7.75
ST PHILLIP	BIR	9	4.58	5.4	7.85
KINGS NORTON	KIN	6	2.98	8.3	3.67
OLDBURY	WES	8	1.68	3.0	2.95
LADY WOOD	BIR	9	2.73	10.6	3.47
ST MARTIN	BIR	9	1.43	3.7	1.85
LYE	STO	5	0.42	0.6	3.39

Appendix 9: The Population statistics for the nine hamlets of Sedgley

Table 1 Population figures for the nine hamlets of Sedgley (1841-61)

	1831	1841	1851	1861
Sedgley	1876	2133	2818	3128
Gospel End	327	392	347	314
Cotwall End	660	737	609	741
Lower Gornal	3124	3071	4878	5915
Upper Gornal	2150	2775	3291	3522
Woodsetton	700	500	706	1778
Coseley	4576	5623	6478	7771
Ettingshall	3930	4009	5563	6350
Brierley	3234	3812	4643	6641
Total	20577	23052	29333	36160

Table 2 Percentage Change in the Populations of the nine hamlets of Sedgley (1841-1861)

	1831-41	1841-51	1851-61	1841-61
Sedgley	13.7%	32.1%	11.0%	46.6%
Gospel End	19.9%	-11.5%	-9.5%	-19.9%
Cotwall End	11.7%	-19.6%	21.7%	-2.1%
Lower Gornal	-1.7%	58.8%	21.3%	92.6%
Upper Gornal	29.1%	18.6%	7.0%	26.9%
Woodsetton	-28.7%	41.2%	151.8%	255.5%
Ettingshall	22.9%	38.8%	14.2%	58.4%
Coseley	2.0%	15.2%	20.0%	38.2%
Brierley	17.9%	21.8%	43.0%	74.2%
Total	12.0%	27.2%	23.3%	56.9%

Table 3 Percentage of the total population of Sedgley in each hamlet (1841-61)

	1831	1841	1851	1861
Sedgley	9.1%	9.3%	9.6%	8.7%
Gospel End	1.6%	1.7%	1.2%	0.9%
Cotwall End	3.2%	3.2%	2.1%	2.0%
Lower Gornal	15.2%	13.3%	16.6%	16.4%
Upper Gornal	10.4%	12.0%	11.2%	9.7%
Woodsetton	3.4%	2.2%	2.4%	4.9%
Ettingshall	22.2%	17.4%	19.0%	17.6%
Coseley	19.1%	24.4%	22.1%	21.5%
Brierley	15.7%	16.5%	15.8%	18.4%

Appendix 10: Membership statistics for the Wesleyan chapels of Sedgley

Table 1 Membership (1841-1861) of Sedgley Wesleyan chapels in the Wolverhampton circuit

Name	1841	1851	1861
Sedgley	12	22	12
Gospel End	26	14	12
Ettingshall	130	158	145
Cann Lane	40	97	97
Lanesfield	37	65	37
Ladymoor	31	25	39

Table 2. Percentage Change in the membership (1841-1861) of those Wesleyan chapels

NAME	1841-51	1851-61	1841-61
Sedgley	83.3%	-12.8%	0
Gospel End	-46.2%	-16.7%	-53.8%
Ettingshall	21.5%	-8.2%	11.5%
Can Lane	252.5%	0	252.5%%
Lanesfield	75.7%	-43.1%	0
Ladymoor	-19.4%	56.0%	25.8%

Table 3. Membership (1841-1861) of the Sedgley Wesleyan chapels in the Dudley circuit

Name	1846	1851	1861
Gornal	38	54	37
Gornal Wood	58	97	70
Coseley	42	66	42
Mamble Square	29	81	65

Table 4 Percentage Change in the membership (1846-1854) of those Wesleyan chapels

NAME	1846-51	1851-54	1846-54
Gornal	44.11%	-31.48%	5.71%
Gornal Wood	70.17%	-38.57%	22.81%
Coseley	52.38%	-34.38%	0
Mamble Square	179.3%	-19.75%	124.14%

Appendix 11: Membership statistics for the Wesleyan chapels of Wolverhampton

Table 1. Membership (1841-61) of the Wolverhampton Wesleyan chapels in the Wolverhampton circuit.

NAME	1841	1851	1861
Darlington St.	406	447	547
Blakenhall	44	44	67
Monmore Green	22	60	61

Table 2. Percentage Change in the membership (1841-61) of those chapels

NAME	1841-51	1851-61	1841-61
Darlington St.	10.1%	22.4%	34.7%
Blakenhall	0	52.3%	52.3%
Monmore Green	172.3%	1.7%	177.3%
POP. INCREASE	35.5%	21.5%	67.3%

Appendix 12: The Average Incidence of Service (AIS) for the Church of England, the Methodists and the Baptists and Independents combined.

Table 1: The AIS for each Registration District.

REG. DIST.	ANG.	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
Stourbridge	2.03	2.83	2.50	2.62
Dudley	2.08	2.74	2.54	2.57
West Bromwich	2.05	2.33	2.36	2.29
Wolverhampton	2.08	2.55	2.28	2.28
Birmingham	2.20	2.40	2.38	2.23
Kings Norton	2.11	2.36	2.30	2.21
Aston	2.28	2.26	2.17	2.13
Walsall	2.31	2.15	2.13	2.12
Penkridge	1.58	2.21	1.78	1.70

Table 2: The AIS for each Settlement Type.

SETTTYPE	ANG	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
Est. Ind. Town	2.50	3.00	2.50	2.54
Large Ind. Town	2.36	2.58	2.42	2.51
Regional Centre	2.19	2.63	2.34	2.36
Ind Town	1.89	2.46	2.25	2.23
Mixed Village	1.86	2.50	2.03	2.13
Est. Ag. Town	1.68	2.34	2.06	2.06
Ind. Village	1.50	2.17	2.07	2.02
Ag. Village	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.97
Ag. Hamlet	1.43	1.66	n/a	1.27

Table 3: The AIS for each Settlement in the Region.

SETT	TYPE	ANG	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
C'ley Hay	4	n/a	3.00	n/a	3.00
Edgbaston	7	3.00	n/a	n/a	3.00
Halesowen	7	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Duddeston	8	3.00	2.70	2.50	2.78
Oldbury	8	2.50	3.00	2.75	2.71
Amblecote	5	2.00	3.00	n/a	2.66
Dudley	9	2.33	2.94	2.50	2.66
Quinton	3	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.66
K'swinford	8	2.00	2.93	2.75	2.62
R'ley Regis	8	2.00	2.55	3.00	2.59
Tipton	8	2.00	2.77	3.00	2.59
Smethwick	5	2.50	2.75	2.00	2.57
Bilston	8	2.33	2.83	2.50	2.56
Bloxwich	5	2.50	2.50	n/a	2.50
Darlaston	8	3.00	2.40	2.00	2.50
Tettenhall	6	2.00	3.00	n/a	2.50
Sedgley	8	2.00	2.68	2.00	2.46
Willenhall	8	2.33	2.57	2.33	2.46
Cannock	6	n/a	2.00	2.50	2.43
Wombourn	3	2.00	3.00	2.30	2.40
Lye	5	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.38
Harbourn	3	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.33
W. Bromwich	8	2.00	2.27	2.17	2.31
Deritend	8	2.66	2.00	2.00	2.27
G't Wyrley	4	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.25
Wolv. West	9	2.30	2.00	2.00	2.25
K' Norton	6	1.66	2.40	2.50	2.23
Birmingham	9	2.20	2.40	2.38	2.23
Aston	7	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.20
Handsworth	5	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.17
S'bridge	7	2.00	3.00	2.50	2.15
Walsall	8	2.50	2.20	2.00	2.14
Wolv. East	9	2.00	2.50	2.30	2.12
Aldridge	3	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Bednall	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Bentley	4	n/a	2.00	n/a	2.00
Beoley	2	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
C. Bromwich	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Churcheaton	1	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Codsall	2	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Cradley	5	2.00	2.33	1.00	2.00
Curdworth	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00

SETT	TYPE	ANG	METH	BAP/IND	TOTAL
Enville	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Essington	4	1.00	3.00	n/a	2.00
Great Barr	3	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Hasbury	4	n/a	2.00	n/a	2.00
Himley	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Kinver	6	1.50	3.00	n/a	2.00
Langley	4	n/a	2.00	2.00	2.00
Lapal	2	n/a	n/a	2.00	2.00
Northfield	3	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Oldswinford	7	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Pattingham	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Pelsall	4	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Penn	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Perry Barr	2	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Saltley	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Shareshill	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Stretton	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Trysull	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
Wednesfield	5	2.00	2.00	n/a	2.00
Wishaw	2	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00
W'ton Aston	3	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Wednesbury	5	1.71	2.40	2.50	1.93
Penkridge	6	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.80
Rushall	4	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.75
Sutton C'ld	6	1.60	2.00	2.00	1.73
Brewood	6	1.33	2.00	2.00	1.71
Water Orton	1	1.00	2.00	n/a	1.66
Bobbington	1	2.00	1.00	n/a	1.50
Bushbury	2	2.00	2.00	n/a	1.50
Erdington	3	n/a	n/a	2.00	1.50
Huntington	1	n/a	1.00	n/a	1.00
Coppenhall	1	1.00	n/a	n/a	1.00
Dunstan	1	1.00	n/a	n/a	1.00
Lapley	1	1.00	n/a	n/a	1.00
W'sall Wood	4	1.00	1.00	n/a	1.00

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